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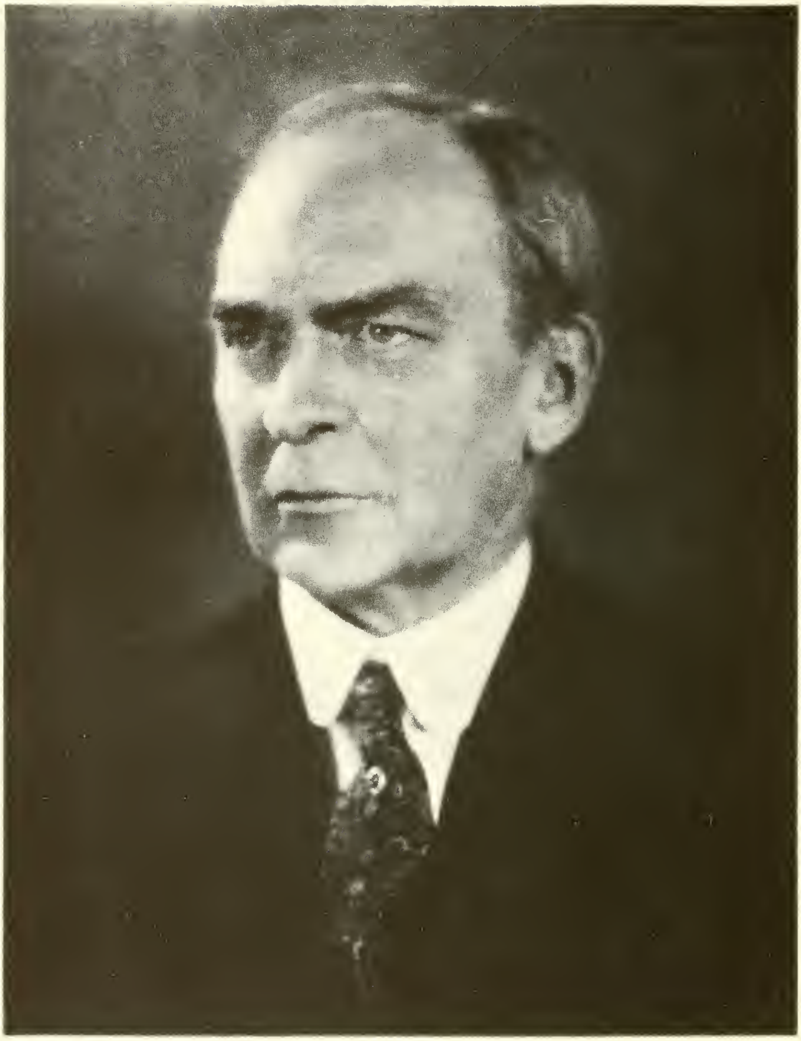

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JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

THE MANLY ANNIVERSARY STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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BY HIS STUDENTS AND ASSOCIATES
ON THE COMPLETION OF HIS TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR
AS HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

LAȜAMON'S POETIC STYLE AND ITS RELATIONS . *John S. P. Tatlock* 3

THE NAME OF THE GREEN KNIGHT . . . . *James R. Hulbert* 12

WAS CHAUCER A STUDENT AT THE INNER TEMPLE? . *Edith Rickert* 20

AN INTERPRETATION OF CHAUCER'S *Legend of Good Women* *D. D. Griffith* 32

THE *Castle of Perseverance:* PLACE, DATE, AND A SOURCE *Walter K. Smart* 42

THE CAPTIVITY EPISODE IN SIDNEY'S *Arcadia* . .*Edwin Greenlaw* 54

SPENSER APOCRYPHA . . . . *Frederic Ives Carpenter* 64

ANOTHER PRINCIPLE OF ELIZABETHAN STAGING . *George F. Reynolds* 70

SHAKESPEARE AS A WRITER OF EPITAPHS . *Joseph Quincy Adams* 78

BASSANIO AS AN IDEAL LOVER . . . *Charles Read Baskervill* 90

FLETCHER AND *Henry the Eighth* . . . . *Baldwin Maxwell* 104

A STAGE CARTOON OF THE MAYOR OF LONDON IN 1613 *Evelyn May Albright* 113

JONSON IN THE JEST BOOKS . . . . . . *Thornton S. Graves* 127

Comus, Old Wives Tale, AND DRURY'S *Alvredus* . . *Edgar A. Hall* 140

Hudibras, PART I, AND THE POLITICS OF 1647 . . *Hardin Craig* 145

ENGLISH EPISTOLARY FICTION BEFORE *Pamela* . *Helen Sard Hughes* 156

NOTES ON THE CANON OF POPE'S WORKS, 1714–20 *George Sherburn* 170

SOME IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF *The Beggar's Opera* *David Harrison Stevens* 180

HOGARTH'S "DISTRESSED POET" . . . . . . *R. H. Griffith* 190

THE IDEAS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS . . . *C. B. Cooper* 197

PERCY AND HIS NANCY . . . . *G. L. Kittredge* 204

THE TEXT OF BURNS . . . . *George L. Marsh* 219

A VISIT TO HENRY JAMES . . . . *Robert Herrick* 229

ROGER BACON AND THE "DIALOGUES" OF SENECA *Charles H. Beeson* 243

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE MIRACLE PLAY . *Karl Young* 254

PAGE

A NOTE CONCERNING THE CULT OF ST. NICHOLAS AT HILDESHEIM *George R. Coffman* 269

CLERICAL SEA PILGRIMAGES AND THE *Imrama* *William Flint Thrall* 276

THE PASSING OF ARTHUR . . . . *Tom Peete Cross* 284

THE WONDERFUL FLOWER THAT CAME TO ST. BRENDAN *Arthur C. L. Brown* 295

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GRAIL ROMANCES . *William A. Nitze* 300

EARLY ALPHABETICAL INDEXES . . . . *Ernest H. Wilkins* 315

ZUR FRAGE NACH DER PORTUGIESISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNG VON GOWERS *Confessio Amantis* . . . . *K. Pietsch* 323

AUGURS AND OMENS, GODS AND GHOSTS . . *Francis A. Wood* 328

THE LETTER *Y* . . . . *Carl Darling Buck* 340

A FRENCH ETYMOLOGY: FR. *bis*, ITAL. *bigio* . *T. Atkinson Jenkins* 351

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES . . *E. S. Sheldon* 362

FINITE VERB CATEGORIES . . . . *Kemp Malone* 374

NOTES ON THE FOUNDERS OF PRESCRIPTIVE ENGLISH GRAMMAR *W. F. Bryan* 383

THE "*Going-to*" FUTURE *James Finch Royster* and *John Marcellus Steadman, Jr.* 394

SIGN-WORDS AND PRO-WORDS IN MODERN ENGLISH *Albert H. Tolman* 404

ASPECTS OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH . . . *Thomas A. Knott* 415

VITA 425

BIBLIOGRAPHY 426

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS 429

THE MANLY ANNIVERSARY STUDIES

LAȜAMON'S POETIC STYLE AND ITS RELATIONS

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The most characteristic trait of Laȝamon's poetic style is his remarkable profusion of epic formulas, similar phrases used repeatedly, as a rule in similar circumstances.[1] In a sea voyage "wind stod an willen" (I, 47, 76, etc.);[2] when an army is needed, the king "sende his sonde wide ȝend þane londe" (I, 19, etc.). There are more than one hundred and twenty-five formulas, each found three or more times, and one or other on an average once in every ten lines.[3] Not derived from Laȝamon's French original, they are normal in early epic, as is shown by the frequency of epic formulas in Homer, the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Cantar de mio Cid*, and other early poems. But Anglo-Saxon poets, like modern, deliberately avoided them, and cultivated variety and ingenuity of phrasing. In *Beowulf* one of the two formulas a full line long is merely that which introduces a speech, the commonest in early poetry;[4] and few formulas are frequently or perhaps even consciously used. This avoiding a natural epic usage is a sign of the artificial sophistication of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The simile is a fairly well-marked trait of Laȝamon's style. Among the epic formulas, several (found some dozens of times) contain similes; a fighter is compared to a boar or to a lion, and a multitude to the falling of hail. There are very many short insignificant similes.[5] Several long and elaborate ones in the Virgilian manner are used of and by Laȝamon's great hero Arthur; he is likened to a ravenous wolf in winter (II, 421), and with grim enjoyment he likens his campaign against Childric to a fox hunt (451–52), and Colgrim to a goat attacked by a wolf (470–71).[1] In Anglo-Saxon poetry, not only are there almost no long and elaborate similes but the rarity even of short ones is recognized as one of its notable traits. In *Beowulf*, there are no more than five, and in the other poetry they are almost equally scarce.[2] One may read thousands of lines and find none.

---

[1] This first matter is merely summarized here. A full treatment will appear soon in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association.*

[2] Throughout I consider only the older text, except once or twice as noted. I cite Sir Frederic Madden's admirable edition by volume and page.

[3] Here and always this means full lines. Madden counts each half-line as a line.

[4] "Hroðgar maðelode, helm Scyldinga" (*Beowulf*, ll. 371, 456) and the like. I quote Anglo-Saxon poems from the Grein-Wülcker *Bibliothek der ags. Poesie.*

[5] Cf. Regel in *Anglia*, I, 211 ff.

A more outstanding feature of Laȝamon's style is the terse summary of a situation or of the emotion suggested by it. Six or eight of his epic formulas are of this nature: "balu wes on folke," "þat was uuele idon."[3] Leir's messenger sits at Cordoille's feet—"sone þer after him wes þe bet" (I, 150). There are hundreds of such impulsive, sometimes over-obvious, comments. These terse summaries are rare in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

In contrast with these novel traits of style, Laȝamon has dropped a good many more of the older ones. Understatement or litotes is no feature of his style, and it is in the terse comments just mentioned that we find most of his mild cases. Assaracus' mother was a Trojan harlot—"hire cheap was þe wrse" (I, 17); nine thousand of the northern English were slain— "þa duȝeđe wes þa lasse" (III, 270).[4] Such is Laȝamon's sometimes artless humor. Herein his manner contrasts with the classical Anglo-Saxon in two respects.[5] There is very much less; it is not in the regular course of thought as usually in Anglo-Saxon, but a comment, an ironical forecast or summary of an obvious fact. Nowhere is the greater subtlety and sophistication of the earlier poetry more visible than here.

---

[1] None of these and few of Laȝamon's other similes are in the French original, in which similes are short and rare. None of the matters discussed in this article have any particular relation with Wace.

[2] *Beowulf*, ll. 218, 727, 985, 1571–72, 1608. Cf. Gummere, *Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*, pp. 4–10; Heinzel in *Quellen und Forschungen*, X, 17 f.; Tolman in *PMLA*, III, 28; Sedgefield's edition of *Beowulf*, p. xxiii; Meyer, *Altgermanische Poesie*, p. 438; Zernial, *Das Lied von Byrhtnoths Fall*, Berlin, 1882, p. 16.

[3] Madden, II, 379, 444, etc.; *ibid.*, 27, 345. For other such comments, not among the formulas, see I, 195, 417; II, 19, 33, 88, etc. Here and elsewhere space does not permit long lists.

[4] See also I, 8, 35, 55, 162, 164, 195, 200, 208, 252, 369, 406, 417; II, 250, 334, 345, 374, 625. A few of the epic formulas are of the nature of understatement; cf. those which we call Bidæled, Hap, Teche, in the article above mentioned.

[5] The frequency of understatement in Anglo-Saxon has been somewhat exaggerated. Cf. Sedgefield's *Beowulf*, p. xxiii; Gummere, *Oldest English Epic*, p. 19; Tolman in *PMLA*, III, 32. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, does not mention litotes. There are four or five cases in the seventy-three lines of *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and a good many in *Beowulf*, the two most read of the poems. "Oft" not rarely may imply "always"; cf. *Wanderer*, ll. 1, 8, 17, 20, 40; *Brunanburh*, l. 8. But one may read far without meeting a case. We should distinguish (as is usually not done) between mere negative words

Most noticeable of the older features which Laȝamon lacks is the kenning. A decorative phrase used instead of, or in apposition with, a noun or pronoun, sometimes metaphorical and highly imaginative, sometimes merely descriptive and defining, everyone knows is one of the chief marks of Anglo-Saxon as of all Germanic poetry. Kennings are met every few lines in the classical poetry, in lyric and epic, before Alfred and after; poets clearly prided themselves on a store of them.[1] In all the 16,000 and more of Laȝamon's lines, there are just about a baker's dozen and no more. He has none whatever of the metaphorical and highly imaginative kennings which so often ennoble the earlier poetry; he has none of those which express the beauty of a life of action—a ship by the sea brim is a mere ship for Laȝamon and nothing more; he clearly takes little interest in kennings, they do not spring to his mind, but only rarely stray in as a faint echo or aroma from a bygone age. He uses a few for earthly rulers, and more for divine persons, the two commonest subjects for them in Anglo-Saxon. "Domes walden[d], Luces þene kaisere" (II, 619), "Gorlois, gumenene [*sic*] lauerd" or "ældere" (II, 346, 355) have the true antique ring. He invokes Christ or God thus:

> Lauerd drihten crist, domes waldende,
> midelarde mund, monnen froure,
> þurh þine ađmode wil, walden[de] ænglen, ... [III, 14];
>
> Ældrihten godd, domes waldend,
> al middel-ærdes mund, whi is hit iwurđen . . . . [III, 126]?

---

like "unlytel," "unriht," and elaborate understatement. Needless to say, understatement is found in many literatures and languages. Not to mention the Bible, it abounds of course in the classics; for two cases in the oldest Greek, see Hesiod, Ἔργα, l. 482; *Iliad* xv. 10–11. Its peculiarity in early English is its grim and ironical use. There is an excellent field for investigation here, as in several of the matters discussed in this article.

[1] It is hardly necessary to refer to the treatises and collections by Bode (*Die Kenningar*), Arndt, Gummere, Ziegler, Schnapper, Rankin, Heinzel, Cook (*Judith* and *Genesis*), Meyer, Zernial, etc. Miss F. L. Gillespy, *Univ. of California Publications in Modern Philology*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 480, notes a few of Laȝamon's kennings.

When he comes to the Nativity, he breaks out thus:

> He is ihaten Jhesu Crist þurh þene halie gost,
> alre worulde wunne, walden[d] englenne;
> fæder he is on heuenen, froure moncunnes [I, 387].

In his lyric and hymnic mood, who knows what religious poem of his childhood may have come to his mind? It is natural that this traditional embellishment should survive chiefly in that chief refuge of traditional usage, the world of religion.[1]

The strings of kennings in apposition are only one variety of one of the most marked traits of the older poetic style, the practice of repeating an idea, briefly, as a rule, several times in succession, with little or no increment to the sense.[2] We meet every few lines such passages as:

> sorhfullne siđ, þa git on sund reon,
> þær git eagorstream earmum þehton,
> mæton merestræta, mundum brugdon,
> glidon ofer garsecg [*Beowulf*, ll. 512–15].[3]

Here, too, the poet clearly took pride in his inventive ingenuity.[4] And this ambition, too, Laȝamon flung away. Occasionally we find a single repetition.[5] A few of the epic formulas are a little of this nature. But it is no feature of his style.

---

[1] A couple of the epic formulas (those which we call Æđelest and Deorling) are used like kennings; cf. also II, 396, 461, and 564. Laȝamon's kennings are almost always used in apposition, rarely or never as a substitute for a pronoun, as so often in Anglo-Saxon. There are clauses which are equivalent to kennings (II, 450, 461), and phrases of mere additional description (II, 243). Of all Laȝamon's kennings for divine persons, only two, strangely enough, seem to be used in Anglo-Saxon poetry. Bode (pp. 80–81) quotes "wealdend engla" four times, and "wealdend heofena" eleven times. "Domes waldend" is never used of an earthly ruler (Rankin, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, 406).

[2] Cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 9; Sedgefield's *Beowulf*, p. xxiii; Gummere, *Oldest English Epic*, p. 18; *P M L A* III, 23, 32; Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.; Zernial, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 f.

[3] Cf. also *Beowulf*, ll. 501–2, 506–10, 517–18, etc.; *Genesis*, ll. 541–42, 585–87, 626–27, 630–33, etc.; *Judith*, ll. 23 ff., 28 ff., 36–37, 87–88; *Wanderer*, ll. 1–2, 4–5, 7, 13–14, etc.; *The Body and Soul*, ll. 15–16, 70–71, 72–74, etc.

[4] But the repetitions had a function, too, in making alliteration easier. So did the kennings sometimes. One function of Laȝamon's epic formulas was to serve the same purpose instead of these usages which he lacked.

[5] I,,5; II, 396 (Ne læten ȝe næuere þas hæđene: bruken eoure hames, Þæs ilke awedde hundes: walden eouwere londes).

The parenthetical clause which interrupts a sentence, often coming between a speech and the words which introduce it, is another trait of the older poetry.[1] Less common than the last, and apparently much less common in lyric than in epic, anyone will grant the frequency of such interruptions as the following (and even longer ones):

> scufan scyldigne (scealcas ne gældon)
> in drygne seađ [*Elene*, ll. 692–93].[2]

These are rare in Laȝamon, merely occasional, as in any modern poet.[3]

Few verse usages in the older poetry are commoner than a marked pause after the first half of a line, the second half beginning a new sentence or clause which runs on into the following line.[4]

> "Satan ic þær secan wille: he is on þære sweartan helle
> hæft mid hringa gesponne." Hwearf him eft niđer
> boda bitresta [*Genesis*, ll. 761–63].

I include pauses marked by a semicolon or more, and of course exclude cases where the second half-line is complete in itself. In the three hundred and fifty lines of *Judith*, there are some ninety such *enjambements;* as many in an equal portion of *Genesis*, nearly as many in *Elene* and *Beowulf*, and many in the shorter narratives and the lyrics. Such lines are extremely rare in Laȝamon, so rare in fact that it is clear the poet avoided them. One chief function of his shorter epic formulas was as expletives to fill in a half-line for which he had no matter, that he might not be obliged to introduce a new theme. For this reason his second half-lines are apt to contain more rhythm and less meaning than in Anglo-Saxon. Clearly, one reason for Laȝamon's formula habit was his desire to avoid *enjambement.*

This comparison of the rhetorical traits of Laȝamon's style with those of classical Anglo-Saxon poetry sums up about thus. The characteristic look of the latter is due to its rich embroidery by the imaginative kennings and by the elaborately varied repetition of an idea. Its characteristic movement is due to this pause to walk around an idea and admire it, and to the interruption of the flow produced by parenthesis and *enjambement.* The classical verse proceeds like the planet Mars through the ecliptic, not always direct, but now stationary and now retrograde. The pauses for apposition, repetition, and transition produce a *staccato* rhythm. Owing to the absence of these traits, Laȝamon's is more *legato,* though Madden's way of printing tends to conceal the fact, and though any alliterative verse is more or less *staccato.* Passages markedly so are due rather to heaping up additional brief detail than to repetition. All of this makes for speed. The characteristic look and feeling of his poetry are due to his terse emotional summaries, which half reveal a personality; and to his profuse epic formulas, which, when one is used to them, promote a broad and simple unity, but by no means restore the richness which he has lost. Compared with the older poetry, Laȝamon's is rapid and a trifle thin.

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[1] Noticed by Zernial, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

[2] Cf. ll. 530, 586–87, 609, 627, 698, 776; *Genesis*, ll. 590, 610, 667, 771, 822; *Beowulf*, ll. 18, 55, 501, 536, 586, 835.

[3] Cf. I, 1, Vppen Seuarne staþe: (sel þar him þuhte) On fest Radestone. Lines by the hundred go by without a case.

[4] Cf. Sedgefield's *Beowulf*, p. xxiii; Crow, *Maldon and Brunanburh*, p. xxiii.

I have left till now the matter of versification in the restricted sense. Laȝamon's verse has long been recognized as akin to, but different from, the classical Anglo-Saxon verse.[1] The chief points of difference are the greater length of his lines, the very frequent use of rhyme (that is, perfect or imperfect rhyme, and assonance), the frequent alliterating of the last and not the first accented syllable of the second half-line, and the not infrequent occurrence of lines with both alliteration and rhyme, or with neither. These traits are rarely or never found in the classical verse, produced by professionals and scholars. But besides this, there is the looser popular verse of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, which chronologically overlaps it and the nearer kinship of which to Laȝamon's is usually recognized. First, there are six short historical narrative poems in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* The best examples are the poem on the capture of Alfred (1036, twenty lines), and the very prosaic verses on William the Conqueror (1087, nineteen lines). They use longer lines than is common in the classical verse, they have both alliteration and rhyme in about equal amounts, and sometimes final alliteration, and contain a few lines with neither embellishment and some with both. As to the other *Chronicle* poems, that on Edgar (959, about twenty-six lines) has short lines, practically no rhyme, except that nearly all lines end in unaccented *-e*, some alliteration (half of it being final alliteration), and neither embellishment in two-thirds of the lines. The poem on the death of Edgar (975, nine lines) uses alliteration and rhyme about equally, and lacks both in several lines. That on Edward and Ælfhere (975, ten lines) is similar, with a little less rhyme and alliteration. That on the capture of Ælfheah (1011, six lines), if it is verse at all, is in short lines, mostly unembellished.[1] The total number of lines in these poems is only ninety. Much more extensive are *The Proverbs of Alfred* (354 lines)[2] and the Worcester fragment of *The Body and Soul* (350 lines),[3] both dating probably from the twelfth century. In the latter, the lines are strikingly long, and have all the essential marks of the popular Anglo-Saxon and of Laȝamon's verse, though there is much more alliteration and much less rhyme. *The Proverbs* are still more like Laȝamon. The lines are long, with slightly more alliteration, somewhat less final alliteration, slightly less rhyme, and about the same proportion of lines with both embellishments and with neither. The differences in proportion are less than are found in some parts of Laȝamon, and in general the verse may be called identical with his.[4]

---

[1] On the general affiliations and character of his verse and that of the other poems discussed below, see among others Schipper, *Altenglische Metrik,* Vol. I; Kaluza, *Englische Metrik,* pp. 124–32; Trautmann, *Über den Vers Laȝamon's, Anglia, II,* 153–73; Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen;* Paul and Braune's *Beiträge,* IX, 422–50; Abegg, *Zur Entwickelung der historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen, Quellen und Forschungen,* LXXIII; Sedgefield, *Battle of Maldon,* Boston, 1904; Skeat, *Proverbs of Alfred,* Oxford, 1907; W. K. Brandstädter, *Stabreim und Endreim in Layamons Brut,* Kirchhain, 1912; Karl Regel, *Die Alliteration im Layamon, Germanistische Studien,* I, 171 ff.

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[1] The foregoing are in Thorpe's edition ("Rolls Series," 1861), pp. 294, 355, 217, 227, 229, 266 f. See also Earle and Plummer's *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel.* Two of the poems are in Sedgefield's book just mentioned. I disregard a few very short bits in the *Chronicle*, and others which seem to me almost undistinguishable from mere prose or from the classical verse.

[2] Ed., Skeat (Oxford, 1907); I consider only the Trinity MS, but the conditions in the Jesus MS are almost exactly the same.

[3] *Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an den Leichnam* (ed. Richard Buchholz, 1890), *Erlanger Beiträge*, Vol. VI.

[4] My figures for his poem are based on about one thousand lines taken at random from all through. Three other passages in the first six hundred lines show that at first he used a good deal less rhyme and more alliteration. There is less alliteration in the later MS than in the earlier. In all the poems, I have considered only consonant alliteration; to consider vocalic as well would probably raise the figures a little.

In regard to versification, then, Laȝamon's poem belongs clearly with the popular poetry of the centuries just before him, and not with the classical poetry. As to the matters discussed first, the historical poems are too short to admit much epic formula, but *Edgar* (959) has one or two colorless and not narrative formulas.[1] *The Proverbs* seem to have none, though they have a great deal of conventional phrasing; but *The Body and Soul* decidedly has the formula usage, one occurring five or six times (introducing a speech) and four others twice.[2] Similes[3] and terse summaries are rare, if they occur at all. Kennings and repetitions scarcely occur in the historical poems; in three passages early in *The Proverbs* four kennings are used in apposition with Alfred's name and one with "Drihtin" (the Lord);[4] in *The Body and Soul* one appears in one of the formulas.[5] Of repetitions, aside from the kennings, there is one with the true antique ring in *The Proverbs* (ll. 313 f.), and three which sound more like the parallelisms of the Psalms.[6] In *The Body and Soul*, the

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The figures for rhyme in all the poems should probably also be raised somewhat, for I have disregarded doubtful cases, unaccented rhyme, etc. Between what must have been and what could not have been felt as rhyme, it is hard to draw the line, but it does not matter much, for all poems have been treated alike. All the figures were collected some years ago. Another short poem which belongs to the same dispensation is that called "The Grave," twenty-one and one-half lines, supposed to be of the twelfth century (see Guest's *History of English Rhythms* [ed., Skeat], pp. 368 ff.). One line has alliteration and rhyme, one has neither, two have rhyme (one of these alliterating also), three have final alliteration, and the rest are normal in the old style (though the lines are rather long). The so-called "Here Prophecy" (five lines) may be of the same sort (in Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, I, 28). I disregard a few shorter bits of verse, and some longer things which can hardly be regarded as of this type. A *corpus* of all the verse chronologically between the mass of classical Anglo-Saxon and Laȝamon would be of great interest and service.

[1] "Wide ond side" is one of Laȝamon's formulas; "oft ond gelome" (once, and in the Ælfhere verses) is common elsewhere. None occurs oftener, and of course these might be found in the classical poetry.

[2] C 2, D 17, 26, E 3, 36 (and cf. A 46); B 2, D 28; B 40, E 8; B 44–45, D 40–41; E 19, G 11.

[3] William the Conqueror is said to have loved the tall deer "swilce he wære heora fæder."

[4] Lines 10–11, 26, 62, 177. As in Laȝamon, they are used only of the Deity and of rulers.

[5] B 40, E 8. There is no space now to discuss the difference in usage between the kenning and other metaphors, of which some occur in this poem.

[6] There are usually only two clauses, longer than in Anglo-Saxon, often joined by "and." See ll. 204–7, 306, 382–85, 609–10. But occasionally the Anglo-Saxon repetitions are like this.

ten or so of repetitions are also apt to be of this latter sort.[1] *Enjambement* (with the run-on half-line) never occurs in the historical poems, almost never in *The Proverbs*, and rarely in *The Body and Soul;*[2] parentheses never in the others and but once in *The Body and Soul* (C 6). The style of all these intermediate poems is by no means as uniform as the earlier or as Laȝamon's style, but, taken as a whole, they are like his poem in dropping kennings, *enjambement*, parentheses, and the classical kind of repetition, and in taking on the formula-habit.

This popular style has no rigid uniformity, like the classical. It was controlled by no fixed literary tradition or professional *Ars Poetica,* as the other must have been. In regard to matters both of verse and of rhetoric, it differs from the other more by what it has not, than by what it has. But it is clear that, on the whole, Laȝamon has not what the others have not, and has what they have. The very fact that his style is practically unchanged from beginning to end, and is unaffected by the French, shows that he used a style with which he was familiar. Originally, it may have been merely produced by the disintegration of the classical style, or may have lived beside and beneath it from the earliest times, like the Saturnian verse of the Romans along with their verse borrowed from Greece. But we must surmise that in his poem, still the chief traditional national epic of England, we have the best indication of the kind of narrative poetry which most English speakers listened to, almost from Alfred to the adoption of the French manner.

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[1] A 13–14, 15–16, B 15–16, 22–23, 24–25, 40, C 23–25, 40–41, D 10, 45, E 8, F 8–9.

[2] One frequently doubts the editor's punctuation and division of lines, but cf. *The Proverbs*, 421, 669, and *The Body and Soul*, A 5, C 27, E 24, and G 13.

THE NAME OF THE GREEN KNIGHT

BERCILAK OR BERTILAK

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After Gawain has survived the head-cutting, he asks the Green Knight's name, and is told (according to the printed text) "Bernlak de Hautdesert I hat in þis londe" (l. 2444). That name is however a misreading of the manuscript. The symbol between *r* and *l* is not in the least like the scribe's *n*, which is made with two upright strokes and a diagonal connecting stroke often so thin as to be indiscernible.[1] In the symbol between *e* and *l*, the two upright strokes are joined at the top by a strong horizontal line and the left upright stroke is not straight but slightly curved like the scribe's *c*. A careful examination of the manuscript shows that the symbol is *ci;* it is in fact identical with the *ci* in *auncian* (l. 1001), and in *concience* (l. 1196). It differs from *ti*, only in that in the latter the horizontal stroke extends a trifle to the left of the left upright stroke. It is clear, therefore, that the scribe wrote "Bercilak," possible that he meant "Bertilak." If he wrote the former intentionally, it is possible that he misread *ti* in his exemplar for *ci*, or that his exemplar already had a misreading, due to the same error. The name as it appears in the published text has never been discussed in print, probably because it has not been found elsewhere.[2] With the correct reading, "Bercilak," however, we may be able to do something, and if we can determine its source, perhaps we may learn something of the methods of the author and the impression which he wished to suggest by the name.

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[1] See the facsimile page in Osgood's edition of *The Pearl,* Boston, 1906, e.g., line 1, *clene*, line 2, *men.*

[2] I make this statement on the basis of a manuscript onomasticon of the Arthurian romances, by Miss Alma Blount, now deposited in the Harvard College Library. This is doubtless not so complete as the author would have made it for publication, but it gives a surer basis for such studies as mine in this paper, than years of unsystematic romance reading could give.

There are three possibilities of source for the name: (1) it correctly represents an actual name either in romance or in life; (2) it is a perversion, by chance or design, of a name in romance or in life; (3) it is pure invention. As the name has not been found elsewhere, we are reduced to the second and third possibilities. Of these two, the second would seem the more reasonable (though of course we must recognize that the third may be right). If we assume then that the name is an alteration of some other appellation, we naturally look for a word similar to it in form. No word in Bern- at all like Bernlak appears: Miss Blount's list runs. "Bernage, Bernard, Berne, Bernlak, Bernout de Riviers." If we look for a word beginning with Ber- and ending with -lak we find one—Bertelak. This name appears in the English prose *Merlin,* corresponding to Bertolais in the Old French. Bertolais (or some obvious variant of it) appears several times in the *chansons de geste,* applied to persons of no similarity in function to the Green Knight.[1] It is used once as the name of a knight in Malory[2] and several times in an insignificant connection in the prose *Tristan.*[3] In only one place do we find the name used in a striking way; that is in the episode of the false Guinevere, in the so-called Vulgate Arthurian romances.[4] The story of Bertelak and the false Guinevere is as follows.

On the same day two girls were born to King Leodegan; one, the true Guinevere, was the daughter of his wife; the other, the false Guinevere, was the daughter of his seneschal's wife. They looked exactly alike.[5] Certain lords planned to substitute the false Guinevere for Artus' wife on her wedding night. Merlin arranged to defeat their plan.[1] They bribed Guinevere's old nurse, and kidnapped Guinevere, but in the moment of success two knights whom Merlin had warned broke up the plot. The author forecasts the trouble which the false Guinevere and a knight will cause Artus. The knight was Bertolais. He hated a certain knight because the latter had slain a cousin of his. Bertolais met and killed this knight on the evening of Guinevere's abduction. Leodegan ordered the false Guinevere to be taken away. She was taken to an abbey in the realm of Carmelide, where she remained until Bertolais (whose mistress she became) found her. Bertolais was brought before Leodegan, who blamed him for killing the man without first asking his king for justice. Bertolais was tried, disinherited, and exiled. He went to the place where the false Guinevere was and there long meditated revenge.[2]

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[1] See Langlois, *Table des noms propres ... dans les chansons de geste,* Paris, 1904. Of course one cannot be sure that these are all really the same name, or indeed that the Bertolais of these works is the same as the Bertolais which becomes Bertelak in English. Just how the *k* gets into the word is not clear, but that it did in English is certain from the forms which appear in the English *Merlin.* Compare also the form Barȝelagk, which is the name of the same figure in Fueterer's translation of the *Lanȝelot* (pp. 94 ff.). In the Vulgate romances, the word ends either in *s* or in *ai;* see Sommer's Index.

[2] Globe ed., p. 338.

[3] Löseth's *Tristan,* pp. 208, 209, 431, 437. See also the prose *Perceval* (ed., Potvin), p. 3, the *Meliador,* l. 4477, etc. Miss Blount refers to Philippe le Noir, *Histoire du L. du L.,* Paris 1533, folios 117 ff., to which I have not had access.

[4] Ed., Sommer. The episode is discussed briefly by J. D. Bruce, *Romanic Review,* IX, 246, n. 24; X, 51 f., and more extensively by F. Lot, *Ètude sur le Lancelot en Prose,* Paris, 1908, pp. 359–77.

[5] Sommer, II, 301. The *Merlin,* from which the English version is translated.

No further mention of either of these characters is made until the fourth volume of the Vulgate romances (the second volume of the *Lancelot*).

One day a beautiful damsel arrived at Artus' court with a retinue. She said that she came from Queen Guinevere, daughter of Leodegan. An old knight (Bertolais) handed the damsel a jeweled box containing a letter. The first clerk who started to read it swooned when he saw its contents. After a second had failed also, the chaplain read it aloud. The letter said that it was from the true Guinevere, who was abducted on the night of her marriage. The damsel introduced Bertolais, who was now old but very strong, as the lady's champion. He offered to defend her against Gawain or any other, but was derided by Dodinel. Artus postponed his decision until Candlemas.[3] When the story is taken up again, the author repeats the early history of the false Guinevere, and says that the first attempt was made by counsel of Bertolais. The false Guinevere came to court at Candlemas, but by advice of Bertolais she asked for respite. Bertolais proposed a trick for capturing Artus and conveying him to Carmelide. This was done. In Carmelide the false Guinevere drugged Artus so that he became infatuated with her. He consented to recognize her as queen if the barons of Carmelide would swear that she was the true Guinevere. Led by Bertolais they did so. The true Guinevere left to become queen of Sorelois.[1] The pope interdicted Great Britain. The false Guinevere and Bertolais became ill in a terrible and disgusting way.[2] Bertolais sent for Artus and confessed his trickery. So did the false Guinevere.[3] They died of their maladies.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 308–9.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–13.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 10–16.

In this story, obviously, we have Bertelak performing a function similar to that of the Green Knight. Bertelak is the protector of a deceitful lady: he brings Artus to her home, and there she tempts the King, much as the lady in *Syr Gawayn and þe Grene Knyȝt* tempts Gawain. Now at some time in the earlier history of *G.G.K.* a writer embellished the story with an Arthurian background.[5] It seems possible that this writer observed the similarity in function between the Green Knight and Bertelak, and decided to give the name Bertelak to the former. The alteration of Bertelak to Bercilak is very slight and may have been due to some transcriber of *G.G.K.*, to a fault in the French text, or to misreading of the French text by the English author.

So far, I have said nothing about *de Hautdesert.* Miss Blount has not found this place name anywhere else. There is, however, a place called *La Desert* (the only one Miss Blount has found), which appears in the Vulgate romances. The Vulgate *Lancelot* begins with an extensive account of how Claudas de la Desert deprived King Bân of his territories.[6] It is possible that the author of *G.G.K.* arbitrarily united Bertelak with La Desert, since the lord of La Desert was an enemy to Arthur and his followers. But such a process does not seem likely. At another point in the Vulgate there is a brief episode about a certain Bertolle, who is said to be of the lineage of Claudas de la Desert.[7] This may have been the cause of some confusion with Bertolais. Finally it may have come about through misreading of *desirete.* Twice we are told that Bertolais was *desirete.*[8]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 78 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 82. According to another version, the false Guinevere and Bertolais confessed after Lancelot had overcome their three champions. *Ibid.*, p. 389.

[5] Neither Professor Kittredge's view, nor mine, supposes that the story was originally associated with Arthur's court or with Gawain.

[6] Sommer, III, 1 ff.

[7] *Ibid.*, V, 422–23.

[8] "Bertolais li rous doit estre desiretes," *ibid.*, II, 313; "Car li roys lauoit desirete," *ibid.*, IV, 45.

None of these suggestions is promising, but one of them may be right. Considering that the name *Hautdesert* is nowhere found, we must have recourse to more or less unsatisfactory surmises.[1] Perhaps we are wrong, however, in regarding the expression as a proper noun; it is found elsewhere as a descriptive phrase—*haulx deserts*.[2]

There are then in favor of the suggestion that the author of *G.G.K.* derived the name Bercilak from the Bertelak of the Vulgate the facts of similarity of name and of function. Against it is the difficulty of accounting for *de Hautdesert*, though as we have seen that can be explained in one way or another. If there were an alternative theory of any reasonableness, this explanation of the name might seem weak. But in the absence of other possibilities the theory that Bercilak is derived from Bertelak is worth considering.

THE SOURCE OF THE ARTHURIAN BACKGROUND IN "G.G.K."

In connection with the preceding discussion, the question arises: Was the author of *G.G.K.* familiar with the Vulgate romances? A casual reading of *G.G.K.* will show that the author has been at considerable pains to give the story an Arthurian background.[3] That this background is a late addition seems probable from the character of the remarks about Morgain la Fée.[4] Of course it does not necessarily follow that all the other details were added at the same time as the remarks about Morgain, but since the motive in that case is the same as that behind the other details (i.e., to get the atmosphere of an Arthurian romance) it seems probable that all these details were inserted by one hand. If we assume that as likely, we naturally inquire next what the source was. Of course such a man as the author of *G.G.K.* did not consciously consult a book to get this material, nor was his knowledge of Arthurian story limited to one source. Hence we must not expect to find indubitable evidence that he derived all this material from one book. But I think there is enough evidence to make it seem probable that the author of *G.G.K.* was familiar with the Vulgate romances.

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[1] The name *Gaut Destroit* tantalizes one with its similarity of sound. The lady of Gaut Destroit, who is called *la damoisele de Branlanc* in the Vulgate (Sommer, II, 164) and who had an officer *Brun de Branlant li seneschaus de la dame du Gaut Destroit*, certainly planned harm to Gawain (see especially *La Vengeance Raguidel*, ll. 1226 ff., Friedwagner's edition and Sommer, VII, 27 ff). But Branlant (or Branlanc) is the name of a castle, and the seneschal does not play an important rôle.

[2] *French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second*, in *Archaeologia*, XX, 298.

[3] See p. 15 above. By "author" I mean here the person who added the Arthurian background.

[4] Cf. *Modern Philology*, XIII, 454. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 132.

First, let us look at the most tangible evidence, the two lists of names (*G.G.K.*, ll. 109 ff., 551 ff.). With two exceptions, all of these names appear in the Vulgate romances.[1] These two are Bishop Bawdewyn, who is found in no French source, and Errik, who is so widely known as scarcely to need a source. One other name, *Agrauayn a la dure mayn*, could not have been derived from the Vulgate since that character is never so described in the Vulgate. The nearest parallel to the description in *G.G.K.* was pointed out by Miss Thomas in her dissertation.[2] It appears in the *Perceval* in two passages:

> Et li secons est Agrevains
> Li orguelleus as dures mains.[3]
>
> Et si i estoit Agravains
> Li orgueilleus as dures mains.[4]

In the *Parzifal* of Claus Wisse and Philipp Cohen, we find one occurrence of a similar expression: "Agrapeus mit der herten hende."[5] The shift in *G.G.K.* from the plural *mains* to the singular *main* is not easily accounted for. Hence I am inclined to think that the author got the phrase not directly from *Perceval* but from some intermediary.[6]

More significant is the treatment of some individual features in the Arthurian background. In lines 2446 ff. we are told that Morgain la Fée prompted Bercilak to this adventure; and that she was "þe maystres of *Merlyn*" ("for ho hatȝ dalt dreury ful dere sum tyme with þat conable klerk"); that her name is "Morgne þe goddes"; and that she sent Bercilak to Arthur's court "For to haf greued Gaynour, gart hir to diȝe" with the sight of the headless man. Now a basis for all of this is to be found in the Vulgate romances.[1] They emphasize her hatred for Guinevere and in several places explain the cause of it—namely the queen's interference with a love affair between Morgain and Guiomar.[2] After Guinevere separated her from her lover—"tant cheualcha amount et aual quele troua Merlin que elle amoit par amore." He taught her enchantment.[3] Further, in at least one manuscript of the Vulgate *Lancelot*, we are told that people called Morgain *la déesse*.[4] Finally, there is an episode in the Vulgate *Lancelot* which is very similar in its general plan to the lady's temptation of Gawain in *G.G.K.*, and which may be the immediate cause for the insertion of Morgain into the English poem. In this episode, Morgain caused a young damsel to try Lancelot's fidelity to Guinevere precisely as the lady tests Gawain, though of course the development lacks the refinement of *G.G.K.*[5]

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[1] In making this statement, I assume that Boos (l. 554) is Bors, and that Ywan (l. 113) and Aywan (l. 551) are the same.

[2] *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, p. 54.

[3] Potvin, III, ll. 9509–10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 88. Mpl. MS.

[5] Ed., K. Schorback, column 22. As the Umlaut of *hand* in MHG is regular only in the plural, presumably *hende* is a plural form.

[6] Its use originally was to give a rhyme for Agravains. Perhaps after the *s* was dropped from the proper noun the word *mains* was changed to make the rhyme correct.

A less significant feature is the reference to Arthur's custom of not eating dinner until some adventure has happened. This is of course frequently mentioned, but the Vulgate is unusual in that it tells the origin of the custom.[6] Another passage is curiously paralleled in the Vulgate, though the idea is sufficiently obvious to make this evidence perhaps uncertain. After Gawain has learned that the lady was testing him he says:

> Bot hit is no ferly, þaȝ a fole madde,
> & þurȝ wyles of wy*m*men be wonen to sorȝe;
> For so watȝ Adam i*n* erde w*ith* one bygyled,
> & Salamon w*ith* fele sere, & Samson eft soneȝ,
> Dalyda dalt hy*m* hys wyrde, & Dauyth þer-aft*er*
> Watȝ blended w*ith* Barsabe, þat much bale þoled,
> Now þese were wrathed wyth her wyles, h*it* were a wy*n*ne huge,
> To luf hom wel, & leue hem not, a leude þat couþe.[7]

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[1] Miss Weston suggested this point in her *Romance, Vision and Satire*, p. 332. She uses it as evidence for a French source for this part of *G.G.K.* It is certainly a more satisfactory explanation of the treatment of Morgain than the suggestion which connects it with the Mantel tests, made in *MP*, XIII, 454.

[2] Sommer, IV, 124; VII, 134 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 124, also 116, and II, 254. In view of this passage, it is no longer necessary to suppose, with Madden, that the poet confused Guinevere with Vivienne. See also the note in his *Syr Gawayne.*

[4] The passage which is printed in Jonckbloet's *Roman van Lancilet*, II, lxix, from a Paris MS was pointed out by Miss Paton in her *Fairy Mythology*, p. 165, n. 1. The phrase does not occur in the corresponding place in Sommer's edition, which is based on London MSS.

[5] Sommer, IV, 127.

[6] *Ibid.*, II, 320.

[7] Lines 2414 ff.

In the passage of the Vulgate, Bohort accuses Guinevere of causing Lancelot's ruin: "Iou ne su onques preudome qui longement amast par amors que al daarain nen fust honnis. Et se vous volies gardes as fais des anchiens des iuis & des sarrasins asses vous en poroie moustrer de cels dont la vraie hystoire le tesmoigne qui furent honi par feme." The writer then cites David, Salamon, Samson, Hector, Achilles, and Tristan.[1]

Of all evidences that the author of *G.G.K.* knew the Vulgate perhaps the best is his mention of the Duke of Clarence.[2] Though this title is mentioned once or twice elsewhere, only in the Vulgate does a Duke of Clarence play any rôle.[3] The Vulgate treats him as an important character, joining him with the early companions of Gawain, telling about his acquisition of the title and giving extensive accounts of his adventures.[4] Thus only in the Vulgate do we have such development of the Duke of Clarence as to make him memorable and likely to be mentioned in another book.[5]

From these facts, and in particular the treatment of Morgain and the mention of the Duke of Clarence, it seems probable that the author of *G.G.K.* knew the Vulgate romances (or some direct descendant of them). If he did he was acquainted with the story of Bertelak, and hence the suggestion that he named his Green Knight from that personage has some basis in likelihood.

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[1] Sommer, VI, 244–45. Also in the Dutch version, Jonckbloet, IV, 3013 ff. But this is probably a commonplace. See Miss Thomas' dissertation, p. 68, for another parallel.

[2] Line 552. I have already referred to this in *MP*, XIII, 712, note.

[3] Löseth's *Tristan*, p. 41, and p. 467 (bare mentions of the name). In the Dutch *Lancelot*, he is mentioned twice in passages clearly translated from the Vulgate, l. 24596—Sommer, V, 235–36, l. 28723; Sommer, V, 288. He appears of course in Fueterer's translation of the *Lancelot*, and a Duke of Clarence is mentioned several times in Malory—Sommer's edition, pp. 484, 491, 766, 790.

[4] See Sommer's Index for references.

[5] As to the names which occur at the beginning of *G.G.K.*—Eneas, Ticius, Felix, Brutus—I am inclined to think they were not derived from a romance. The passage in which they occur looks much more like a condensation of a historical source than a bit out of a romance. It was probably derived from a "Brutus book," such as the author (in l. 2523) suggests as the source of his poem. The names themselves are puzzling. Madden could find no Ticius connected with Tuscany or Felix prefixed to Brutus; and in the chronicles published since his time I can find none.

WAS CHAUCER A STUDENT AT THE INNER TEMPLE?

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The first allusion to Chaucer as a student at the Inner Temple is in Speght's 1598 edition in the following context:[1]

> By his trauaile also in Fraunce and Flaunders, where hee spent much time in his young yeeres, but more in the latter end of the reigne of K. Richard the second, he attained to great perfection in all kind of learning. For so doe *Bale* and *Leland* also report. *Circa postremos Richardi secundi annos in Galliis floruit, magnamque illic ex assidua in literis exercitatione gloriam sibi comparauit. Domum reuersus forum Londinense, & Collegia Leguleiorum, qui ibidem patria iura interpretantur, frequentauit, &c.* About the latter end of King Richard the seconds daies he florished in Fraunce, and got himselfe great commendation there by his diligent exercise in learning. After his returne home, he frequented the Court at London, and the Colledges of the Lawyers, which there interprete the lawes of the lande, and among them he had a familiar frend called Iohn Gower. This Gower in his booke which is intituled *Confessio Amantis*, termeth Chaucer a worthie Poet, and maketh him as it were, the Iudge of his workes.
>
> It seemeth that both these learned men were of the inner Temple: for not many yeeres since, Master *Buckley* did see a Record in the same house, where *Geoffrey Chaucer* was fined two shillings for beating a Franciscane fryer in Fleetstreete.[2]

Upon this text Francis Thynne "animadverted," the same year, as follows:

> In the same title yo*u* saye, "yt semethe that these lerned menne were of the Inner Temple, for that, manye yeres since, master Buckley did see a recorde in the same howse, where Geffrye Chaucer was fined two shillinges for beatinge a Franciscane Fryer in fletestreate." This is a hard collect[i]one, to prove Gower of the Inner Temple, althoughe he studyed the law. for thus yo*u* frame yo*ur* argumente. "Mr. Buckley founde a recorde in the Temple, that Chaucer was fyned for beatinge the fryer, Ergo Gower and

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[1] This study has grown out of Mr. Manly's suggestions that it might be possible to identify "Master Buckley" and to test the authenticity of his record. For criticisms and help as the work progressed I am more indebted than this acknowledgment shows.

[2] Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, 1908, pp. 21 f.

> Chaucer were of the Temple." But for myne owne parte, yf I wolde stande vppon termes for matter of Antiquytye, and ransacke the originall*e* of the lawiers fyrst settlinge in the Temple, I dobte whether Chaucer were of the temple or noe, vnlest yt were towardes his latter tyme, for he was one olde manne,—as apperethe by Gowere in Confessione amantis—in the xvi yere of R. 2: when Gower wroote that Booke. And yt is most certeyne to be gathered by cyrcumstances of Rercordes, that the lawyers were not in the temple vntill*e* towardes the latter parte of the reygne of kinge Edwarde the thirde; at w*hi*che tyme Chaucer was a grave manne, holden in greate credyt, and employed in embassye; so that me thinkethe he sholde not be of that howse; and yet, yf he then were, I sholde iudge yt strange that he sholde violate the rules of peace and gravytye yn those yeares. But I will*e* passe ouer all*e* those matters scito pede, and leave euerye manne to his owne iudgemente therein for this tyme.[1]

From these quotations several facts are clear:

1. Speght had two sources of information: Bale and Leland,[2] and "Master Buckley."

2. Thynne's main argument is that the statements about Chaucer do not prove that Gower studied at the Inner Temple.

3. His objections to the case for Chaucer are: (*a*) that Chaucer was too old by the time the lawyers were in the Temple, and (*b*) that so old a man would not have been guilty of such a misdemeanor.

4. Thynne neither asks who "Master Buckley" was nor impugns his authority.

Leland's statement, full of errors as it is, is interesting in showing that there was a tradition about Chaucer as a law student in the first half of the sixteenth century. Thynne's objections are met if, as we now believe, Chaucer was born not earlier than 1340 and the lawyers were in the Temple by 1347.[3] If, then, it can be shown that Buckley was in a position to know the Inner Temple records and that the record itself bears every mark of genuineness, the possibility that Chaucer may have studied law becomes a probability.[4]

[1] *Animaduersions* . . . . (Chaucer Soc.), 1875 [1891], pp. 21 f.

[2] One of whom (Bale follows Leland) he cites (cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 10).

[3] Inderwick, *Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, I (1896), xvii (quoting an early seventeenth-century MS now in the Inner Temple), and p. xi (referring to the Patent Rolls but without volume and page numbers; I have been unable to find the passage in the printed *Calendar*). There seems to be no question about the approximate date. Cf. also Hales in the *Athenaeum*, I (1896), 446 f., with the authorities there cited.

[4] Hales (*loc. cit.*) and Kingsley (preface to Thynne, *op. cit.*, pp. xv f.) inclined to believe Buckley's statement. Furnivall did not (*ibid.*).

Who was "Master Buckley"? In the Inner Temple records is mentioned a William Buckley, in 1564 as chief butler, and in 1572 as a newly admitted member.[1] Among the special duties of chief butler in the Inns of Court were the following: collecting dues and fines; keeping accounts; recording attendance at commons, moots, and chapel; and taking care of the library. He was also employed in engrossing indentures,[2] and in other legal business.[3] He was often admitted to membership.[4]

There can be little doubt that this Buckley, who not only for years had access to the Temple records but also had intellectual interests that enabled him to become a barrister, was Speght's informant. It is significant that Speght, beyond giving him the title "Master," which was commonly used in speaking of members of the Inns of Court, did not think it necessary to identify him, and also that Thynne accepted him without question. If, then, the record existed, this William Buckley, butler, librarian, and barrister, was one of the few men in England likely to have seen it.[5]

Did such a record survive? It is commonly believed that all early records of the Temple were destroyed by the insurgents of 1381, but the extant evidence hardly warrants this inference. Walsingham says only that "plura munimenta, quae juridici in custodia habuerunt, igne consumpta sunt."[6] The author of the "Anominalle Chronicle" of St. Mary's, York, is more specific:

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[1] Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 265, which reads:

"Order for the special admission of William Buckeley, late chief butler of the House, without any payment.

"Special admission of William Buckeley of Derby in the county of Derby, gent."

The two entries refer indubitably to the same person (cf. Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 255, 261, 262 [2], and 263 [2], for parallel entries).

There were indeed two Buckleys, both butlers, but Richard, the younger, was not admitted to membership (*ibid.*, cf. pp. 235 and 256), and so would not have been called "Master."

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 144, 212, 235, 274 f., xxxiv, xlv; also J. Douglas Walker, *The Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, I, 316, 389, 393, 394, 401, 425, and xxi f.

[3] Walker, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 421, 425, 432, and xxii.

[4] See Inderwick and Walker, *op. cit.*, indexes, under "Butler."

[5] There were of course other Buckleys, for example: Thomas Buckley at Lincoln's Inn, 1578, admitted to the Bar, 1580 (Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 408, 416). But what should he know about the ancient fine roll of the Inner Temple?

[6] *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls ed.), I, 457.

> Et aleront en Esglise et pristerent toutz les liuers et rolles et remembrances que fueront en lour huches deins le Temple des apprentiz de la ley et porteront en le haut chemine et les arderent.[1]

The documents burned were evidently muniments kept for safety in the Temple Church; but they may have belonged to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who at that time still reserved the church for their own use[2] and who were especially hated by the insurgents. Certain it is that the Inner Temple rolls of "fynes and amercementz," from 1507 on, were kept in a chest in the "parlement house." And as directions were then given for making fine rolls thereafter "in maner and fourme" of an earlier fine roll,[3] it is highly probable that precedent was followed also in placing the new chest, made at that time,[4] where the old one had stood.[5] In that case, the early fourteenth century records might well have escaped the fire of 1381 because they were not in the Church and have been destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666 for the same reason.[6] The disappearance of all the "fine rolls" suggests, though it does not prove, that they shared a common fate.

But does Buckley's citation bear marks of authenticity? Can it be tested by records that have survived? From the Inner Temple we have nothing earlier than 1505, but *The Black Books of Lincoln's Inn* go back almost to Chaucer's time and supplement the few entries of fines that have crept into the Inner Temple "order" books.[7] They record, in fact, besides rulings about fines, more than a hundred cases of misdemeanor, involving more than two hundred and fifty students.[1] Of these misdemeanors, almost three-fourths might be summed up under the head of disorderly conduct, about equally distributed between cases of fighting or assault, and of college pranks, insubordination, or disobedience. In some instances, classification is impossible, either because the situation is complex or because no details are given.[2]

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[1] Edited by Trevelyan, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XIII, 515. As Dr. Kriehn points out, this has many marks of having been written by an eyewitness (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, VII, 266).

[2] Foss, *Judges of England*, IV (1851), 26; and cf. Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, xx f.

[3] Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 9. There are several other references to earlier records on that page and on p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] The force of tradition in English schools and universities strongly favors this view. And there is no mention of a change of position.

[6] The fire destroyed the Inner Temple buildings but stopped short of the church (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, III [1891], 354). According to Inderwick, there were "numerous fires" both before and after 1666 in which the records might have been lost (*op. cit.*, I, ix). Those that survive "are confined, with few exceptions, to the orders passed at the Parliaments held at regular intervals within the Inn" (*ibid.*).

[7] Some of these are for serious offenses; others have apparently been entered by mistake. I counted ten cases (excluding breaches of inn customs) between 1505 and 1603 (Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 46, 89, 90, 94, 102 f., 128, 165, 179, 268, 269). Those that bear on the problem are discussed below.

Of the thirty-seven cases of fighting or assault, more than three-fourths were of assault, only seven or eight upon members of the Inn. Thus the offense attributed to Chaucer was by far the commonest at Lincoln's Inn.

Was the two-shilling fine the amount usually imposed for the offense? Although exact statistics are impossible,[3] the general practice with regard to fines can be clearly determined. A fine of more than five shillings was rarely imposed for misdemeanors other than offenses against the customs of the Inn.[4] The usual sums were three shillings and fourpence and one shilling and eightpence, but two and sixpence (one case), two shillings (nine cases), one shilling (nine cases), and eightpence (one case) were also imposed.[1]

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[1] Excluding such offenses as failing to keep vacations, to serve in official capacities, to attend chapel and moots, etc., with which we are not concerned.

[2] My figures, which, in spite of care and checking, must be regarded as only approximate, are as follows:

Fighting or assault (in two cases only threatened) 37

(Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 40, 43 f., 63, 78, 81, 91, 117, 120, 125 f., 127, 129, 131, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 152, 166, 176 [2], 204, 210, 213, 215, 223, 227, 233, 237, 253, 255, 274 f., 292 [2], 293 [2], 312.)

College pranks, such as taking food (distinguished from theft), breaking windows, blowing horns, chasing and killing the rabbits within the precincts, removing things from their places, throwing "wyspis" in hall, breaking down the kitchen door "out of cheek," etc. 26

(*Ibid.*, pp. 45 f., 79, 86, 106 [2] 109, 131, 134, 140, 176, 194, 204, 215, 218, 223, 225, 273, 275, 289 f. [2], 291, 297, 300, 304, 305, 306.)

Insubordination or disobedience 16

(*Ibid.*, pp. 66, 71, 77, 91, 110, 126, 134, 152, 177, 182 f., 204, 215, 293, 297, 310, 312.)

In the remaining fourth of these misdemeanors, there are fifteen cases of association with women of bad character, eleven of playing dice or cards, and a few of offenses not characterized.

[3] Partly because the accounts were not kept uniformly and systematically, and partly because they are not published in full (Walker, *op. cit.*, I, i f.).

[4] Probably not two dozen cases altogether. For failure to obey the regulations of the Inn, heavy fines were sometimes imposed, but these cases have nothing to do with the Chaucer record.

The fine for assault upon a member of the Inn was much higher[2] than for assault upon an officer, servant, or outsider. Of the twenty-two cases of assault upon non-members, seventeen were punished with fines between 1/ and 3/4, including one fine of 2/6 and two of 2/.[3] The two cases of 2/ fines were for similar offenses on the same day. One was for entering the "buttrye" and taking away "certeyn loves of brede, ageynst the wyll of the Butler"; the other, for "entering the kitchen and taking a piece of beef from the cook."[4]

With these three cases must be put two cases of fine for double offenses:

1509. "Thomas Veer . . . . for an assault and affray on the Butler with his dagger in the presence of divers Benchers; he also used contumelious words in the presence of the Governors sitting in the Hall."[5] He was fined 3/4.

1506. "Miles Hubbert fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for breaking the door of the 'White Hert in Holburne' at night, and beating the house-wife of the same, to the scandal of the Society, and also for frequenting a brothel . . . . in Holburn, called 'Johne Hasylrykke's Hous.'"[6]

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[1] In more than two-thirds of the cases, the fine was either three and fourpence, or one and eightpence, about evenly distributed. The higher sum was usually imposed upon the leaders in a group enterprise (cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 135 f.; also pp. 117, 194, 204).

[2] In the seven or eight cases (*ibid.*, pp. 274 f. is doubtful), only one fine is as low as 3/4 (p. 312). The others range from 10/ to 40/ (*ibid.*, pp. 40, 63, 138, 213, 215, and 237), and although in several instances reduced, still remain much higher than for assault upon non-members.

[3] These may be summed up as follows: Of one-shilling fines, five cases: (1) a blow on the ear of one of the butlers (Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 176); (2) an "affray" on a member's servant, while waiting on his master in "Chaunceler Lane" (*ibid.*); (3) a slap to the "Panierman" in Hall (*ibid.*, p. 213); (4) "castyng down" someone "in the Chapell att the messetyme" (*ibid.*, p. 166; doubtful whether or not a member); (5) taking part in attacks on the cook (*ibid.*, p. 117; reduced from 1/8).

Of 1/8 fines, four cases: (1) assault on the undercook (*ibid.*, p. 78); (2) "violently" taking the steward's dagger and giving him "vile words" (*ibid.*, p. 81); (3) striking the "Pannierman" at dinner before the governors (*ibid.*, p. 127); (4) striking the butler's wife (*ibid.*, p. 227).

Of 3/4 fines, five cases: (1) for the ringleaders in the attacks on the cook mentioned above (*ibid.*, p. 117); (2) assaulting a butler with drawn sword (*ibid.*, p. 134); (3) drawing a dagger on the chaplain in Hall (*ibid.*, p. 136; here, only threatened assault); (4) and (5), quoted above.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 292. It is to be supposed that the officials resisted.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

These five cases suggest that a fine of two shillings was customary for some cases of assault.

Moreover, there is evidence from other types of cases that a two-shilling fine was sometimes imposed for an offense commonly rated at one and eightpence or at three and fourpence. Out of twelve cases of petty offenses, which are comparable, a two-shilling fine is imposed in three, instead of the more usual sums.[1]

Undoubtedly an important factor was whether the offense was committed within the Inn or outside.[2] Compare with Miles Hubbert's escapade in 1506 the 6/8 fine imposed in 1502 for beating and ill treating the gardener's wife.[3]

On the other hand, there is evidence from fines imposed fifty years apart that the amounts remained comparatively stable for that period. In 1483 and in 1529–30, 1/8 was imposed for striking a servant;[4] in 1467 and in 1518, 6/8, for gaming;[5] in 1484 and in 1553, 1/8, for hunting rabbits within the precincts;[6] and in 1478–79 and 1526–27, 3/4, for unseemly language before Benchers.[7] Why, then, should they have been very different in Chaucer's time?

But was the scale of fines in the two inns the same? In 1521, an order was issued at the Inner Temple for a fine of 6/8 to be imposed for gaming within the "House";[8] in 1431, an order at Lincoln's Inn imposed the same fine for gaming within the Inn after nine o'clock at night.[1]

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[1] In 1482–83, three men were fined 2/ each for playing cards within the Inn and six were fined 1/8 each for playing outside the Inn (*ibid.*, pp. 76 f.). In 1496, a man was fined 3/4 for playing dice within the Inn (*ibid.*, p. 108). In 1518, five men were fined 3/4 each for playing cards and dice "in chambers" and two of the party, double (*ibid.*, p. 188). In 1526–27, a man was fined 3/4 for "dycing and cardying," the place not stated (*ibid.*, p. 215).

In 1476–77, a man was fined 3/4 for "opprobrious words" (*ibid.*, p. 63). In 1478–79, a man was fined 3/4 for "unseemly words in the presence of the Governors and other Fellows of the Bench" (*ibid.*, p. 66). In 1480–81, a man was fined 1/8 for "presumptuous and unsuitable words in answering the Governors and other Benchers openly in Hall" (*ibid.*, p. 71). In 1504–5, a man was fined 1/8 for encouraging another in wrongdoing by "contumelious" words instead of reproving him (*ibid.*, p. 135), but in 1496, a man was fined 2/ for "divers railings [? *pro diversis malectis;* ? for *maledictis*] and contempts" (*ibid.*, p. 110).

In 1496, one man was fined 3/4 for taking a quince pie from the kitchen oven (*ibid.*, p. 106) and another at the same time was fined 1/8 for taking eels from the oven (*ibid.*). In 1549, two men were fined 3/4 apiece for taking fagots out of the kitchen (*ibid.*, p. 289), but another was fined 2/ because he "toke awey the laver next the ketchon dore" (*ibid.*, pp. 289 f.), in addition to making a new "laver."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 89. Cf. also p. 25, n. 2, above.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 139 and 125 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 78 and 227.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 44 and 188.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 79 and 305.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 66 and 215.

[8] Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 63.

In the Inner Temple, in 1541, a member was fined 6/8 for an "affray" upon another;[2] in Lincoln's Inn, in 1502–3, two members were fined 6/8 and 3/4, respectively, for an "affray" between them.[3]

In 1555, orders were issued to the members of both inns to cut off their beards, and for insubordination in regard to this order, certain members of both inns were fined, some of them 3/4 and others 1/8.[4]

From these cases, it is safe to infer that the practice in the two inns was very similar. A point to be emphasized is the fact that the fine ordered for gaming at the Inner Temple in 1521 is the same as that ordered at Lincoln's Inn in 1431.

The internal evidence may be summed up: (1) the offense was the commonest (aside from offenses against inn customs) at Lincoln's Inn; (2) the fine imposed was not the usual fine for such an offense, though it was within the range of variation for such fines; (3) the fines at Lincoln's Inn continued about the same from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth; and (4) similar practice obtained between 1431 and the middle of the sixteenth century in the two inns. In view of these conclusions, I maintain that the Chaucer item bears all the marks of genuineness. If Buckley had hit upon the idea of manufacturing Chaucer biography for Speght, his most obvious motive would have been to reflect credit upon the Temple, and he would scarcely have invented such a story. If, familiar with the rolls as he was, he, for reasons unknown, invented an episode of a common type there, he would also, for the sake of verisimilitude, have invented the usual penalty. In this combination of usual and of unusual that is at the same time possible and reasonable, I find the strongest internal evidence that Buckley was reporting an item that he had seen.[5]

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[1] Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 4. [2] Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 128. [3] Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 131.

[4] Cf. Inderwick, *op. cit.*, I, 178, 179, and Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 312 (and cf. pp. 309, 310).

[5] Nor is the story to be rejected for its picturesqueness. The item about Miles Hubbert is more picturesque. A small point, not to be urged, yet perhaps not without significance, is the fact that the friar is described and not named and that the event is said to have happened in Fleet Street. Within the Temple, the chances are that the fine would have been heavier and the friar's name have been reported. Outside, in a street ending at the Temple gate, the affair might have been witnessed and reported by those who knew of the friar only what his dress showed.

But when could Chaucer have studied at the Inner Temple? Between the years 1361 and 1366 we know not one single fact about him. Even if he continued to be an attendant in one of the royal households until he entered the service of the King himself,[1] he could at the same time have been a student at the Temple, as appears from the following records of Lincoln's Inn:

> John Fortesceu, Esquire of the Body [*armiger pro corpore*] of King Edward IV, was admitted July 23rd. [1476]; he was pardoned all vacations and admitted to repasts; for which he gave a quarter of a tun of wine.[2]

Again:

> Edward Brampt[on], Esquire of the Household [*armiger de Hospicio*] of the King, admitted Nov. 12th; [details as above].[3]

These entries and others[4] show that squires in the royal household were admitted on special conditions. They were not bound by the rules of the Society for study in vacations, or required to pay for commons but only for such meals as they had.

Another entry shows that a squire in the King's household might have a room in Lincoln's Inn:

> March 1, 1498. Robert Straunge was re-admitted to the Society, and pardoned all vacations; he shall be at repasts because he is of the King's Household [*quia de Hospicio domini Regis*]; and he is pardoned all pensions and other things due by him; for which he gave a hogshead of wine; he shall have again [*rehabeat*] the chamber with Pykeryng without paying anything to the Society.[5]

This shows that Strange had been away and had now returned as a member of the King's household.

Six years later we read of him again:

> Robert Strange, having formerly been admitted to repasts as being of the King's Household, it is now proved that he is not; his admission to repasts is therefore void, but he may be in commons like every one else.[6]

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[1] The first record of his annuity, June 20, 1367, suggests that he had not been long in the King's service (*Life Records*, 4, p. 160); cf. the similar record about Philippa Chaucer as attendant upon Constance of Castile, who had come to England only a few months before (*ibid.*, p. 181).

[2] Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 60. The case of John Sapcotes, admitted at the same time, is identical (*ibid.*).

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 64 (2).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

This suggests that he had left the royal household and settled down in earnest to study law.[1]

It can scarcely be doubted that similar arrangements were made at the other Inns of Court, and the gift of a quarter of a tun of wine would not have embarrassed John Chaucer.[2]

According to the household book of Edward IV, only half the squires of the household were on duty at a time,[3] and this book was clearly modeled after the household book of Edward III.[4] But special arrangements could be made at Lincoln's Inn for a squire even when on duty.[5]

Thus Chaucer might have been a student at the Inner Temple during the years when he was—theoretically—in attendance at court. It does not follow that he ever practiced law. From Fortescue's account of the Inns of Court in the fifteenth century,[6] it is clear that they were not merely law schools but rather universities where gentlemen's sons were trained for public careers. Music, dancing, history, and divinity were studied, as well as the law.[7] And Chaucer himself tells us that the members of the Temple who were most "of lawe expert"[8] were fitted for business careers as stewards of great estates.

Consider, then, Chaucer's own career—as diplomat, custom-house official, justice of the peace, member of Parliament, clerk of the works, and forester. Could all these positions have been held by a man without legal knowledge or training? To examine the probabilities for each of these offices would carry me far beyond the limits of this paper, but a few significant facts may be pointed out.

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[1] There are frequent references to special admissions of students in attendance upon nobility (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23, 32, 37, 40, 45, 223, and many other cases not so clear).

[2] In 1511, a squire of the King's household paid 20/ instead of the wine (*ibid.*, p. 161).

[3] *Life Records*, 1–3, pp. 67 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 70 and xiv ff.

[5] In 1529, a man was allowed to be "out of commons at his pleasure" for a term because he was in service with a lord and bound to give daily attendance (Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 223).

[6] He was at Lincoln's Inn before 1422 (Walker, *op. cit.*, I, 1 ff.).

[7] *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, cap. xlix.

[8] *Prologue*, ll. 576 ff. The phrase translates the technical *legis periti*.

Even a cursory survey of Rymer's *Foedera* shows that lawyers were commonly employed on diplomatic missions.[1] There were often great lords as ornamental figureheads, but there were lawyers to do the work. Take, for example, the Genoese mission of 1372, in which Chaucer's only associates were two Genoese.[2] The business concerned the establishment of a seaport in England for Genoese citizens and merchants, and the "franchises, liberties, immunities, and privileges" associated with such a grant. Are we to believe that the English interests would have been left in the hands of one unfamiliar with the law?

Again, in the controllership, could Chaucer, without business training, have been expected to act as check on the operations of such financiers as Walworth, Brembre, and Philpot? And could he have obtained such business training at a grammar school or at court? Were there not in the customs daily problems of rights, immunities, and privileges? Who settled them? Did the controller merely copy entries without making inquiries about them? Then he was no more than a clerk.

And what were Chaucer's duties as forester? Were there not continual questions of law between the denizens of the forest and the king? In the Forest of Dean recently, as I happen to know, the king's forester was a lawyer, who lived in a comfortable house within the forest. How was it in Chaucer's time?

And why was Chaucer made justice of the peace? A regulation of 1360 provided that "one lord and with him three or four of the most worthy in the county, with some learned in the law"[3] should serve. On the commission of 1385, of which Chaucer was a member, there were eighteen men, of whom two held important offices, eight or more represented prominent Kentish families, and at least six were lawyers. On the commission of 1386, there were seven lawyers

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[1] Many are so described and some described as knights were also laywers. Their names appear in Foss's *Judges of England* and *Biographia Juridica*, or in Dugdale's *Chronica Series*, appended to the *Origines Juridiciales*.

[2] *Life Records*, 4, pp. 181 f. John de Mari is described as "Ciuis Januensis." James de Provan (or Pronan) was a knight, "locum tenens" for the brother of the Duke of Genoa as captain (i.e., admiral) of a fleet of Genoese galleys (Rymer, orig. ed., VI, 753).

[3] Hulbert, *Chaucer's Official Life*, 1912, pp. 37 ff.

(excluding Chaucer) out of seventeen men.[1] Although Chaucer may have owned lands in Kent, he certainly did not represent an old Kentish family. Then is he not to be included among those "learned in the law"?

There is, I am confident, one way of settling the questions that I have raised, and that is by investigating the careers of other men who have held Chaucer's public positions. This study I hope to begin at once.

Further, there are various hints about Chaucer's friends to be investigated. Was Gower a lawyer?[2] Was the "philosophical Strode" the lawyer Strode at Aldersgate who was Chaucer's neighbor? Was "My maister Bukton" addressed by his legal title?[3] Was there recognition of a legal status as well as of literary discipleship in Lydgate's and Hoccleve's use of the same title for Chaucer? Was Hoccleve himself an "apprentice" of the law? In these questions I am merely mapping out a line of research which may perhaps bring more evidence to bear upon the problem.

And finally, the works themselves must be scrutinized. However much a poet might try to keep law and literature apart, there should be an occasional hint. In the *Prologue*, for example, it is not strange to find the Sergeant of Law; but why the Manciple? In what sense is an understeward in one of the Temples representative? Who would have been likely to remember his existence except one who had lived under his ministrations? And why is he introduced? He is neither described nor characterized. He is used purely as the means of cracking a joke on lawyers. Would such a joke have occurred to an outsider?

All these considerations taken together so strongly bear out Buckley's testimony that I am convinced it may one day be shown with practical certainty that Chaucer belongs among the poets who went into literature by way of the law.

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[1] *Life Records*, 4, pp. 254 and 259, and cf. Hulbert, *loc cit.*

In 1385: Bealknap, Clopton, Rikhill, Topclyf (not a Kentishman, land steward to the Archbishop of Canterbury; cf. *Prologue*, ll. 576 ff.), Brenchesley, and Shardelowe. Whether Savage and Falstolf had legal training I do not know.

In 1386: Tresilian, Bealknap, Hanemer, Clopton, Rikhill, Topclyf, and Brenchesley.

[2] Cf. *Mirour de l'Omme*, l. 21774 and the pictures in *Archaeologia* 39, II, 358 ff.

[3] Cf. Walker, *op. cit.*, I. xxxix f. Certainly *magister* was commonly used for lawyers. But how widely it was used for other men in the fourteenth century I do not know.

AN INTERPRETATION OF CHAUCER'S *LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN*

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Four times in the F Prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer declares that his poem is a legend, while the Man of Law refers to it as the "Seintes Legende of Cupyde." Other references show that Chaucer's followers understood the poem as a legend. In Hoccleve, Chaucer's *Legend* is referred to as Cupid's "Legende of Martres," in Lydgate as "the Legend of Cupide," and as a "legende of parfite holines," and in the Lay Folks' Mass Book as "The holy legende of martyrs of Cupydo."[1] To modern taste, this title seems paradoxical, as all the stories concern heathen women and as the medieval and technical meaning of the word "legend" is the life of a saint who is often also a martyr to the Christian religion. The solution of the difficulty lies in the very conception of the poem. Chaucer has borrowed from the Court of Love literature the idea of a religion of love of which Cupid is the god. Just as Christian saints have suffered martyrdom for their religion, so those whom the worship of the God of Love has brought to their deaths may be thought of as martyrs to the god Cupid. Just as the stories of Christian saints are called legends, so the stories of those who died because of their devotion to love become legends of the saints of the god Cupid. In this poem, Chaucer is creating a collection of the legends of Cupid's saints and martyrs.

The following notes will show how completely Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* has for its organizing motif the presentation of good women, who were martyrs to love because of devotion to a definitely conceived religion of which the god Cupid is the head.[2] This worship has its god, its mediator and intercessor (Alceste), its saints, its legends, its martyrs, its relic, and its shrine, with a system of repentance, penance, and satisfaction—all created in analogy to the Christian worship of Chaucer's time. This paper will also point out that this organizing motif dominated the F Prologue, but that Chaucer changed his attitude toward this religion of Cupid and omitted from the G Prologue the most noticeable analogies to Christian worship. The study of all the alterations that Chaucer made in the F Prologue seems to show that the poet made his revision with the intention of removing unorthodox references to Christian service and, especially, of canceling the presentation of himself as a votary of Cupid.

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[1] See E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, p. 379.

[2] That the *Legend of Good Women* has echoes of Christian worship has been noted by J. S. P. Tatlock, *Studies in Philology*, XVIII (1921), 421–22, note, and by W. W. Skeat, *Chaucer*, III, 139. W. G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, pp. 208–32, has discussed the general influence of ecclesiastical elements upon the *Legend*. This

In the F Prologue the poet's attitude toward "olde stories" as devotion and his worship of the daisy as the incarnation of the God of Love are plain. It is also plain that in the G Prologue he has abandoned this attitude. In F, l. 27, he says, "Wel oghte us than honouren and beleve" "olde bokes," "And on hem yeve I feyth and ful credence" (l. 31), but, in G, the words, "honouren" and "feyth and ful credence" are omitted. "Farwel my book and my devocioun!" (l. 39, F) becomes, in G, the colorless "Farwel my studie, as lasting that sesoun!" In F the reading of "olde bokes" is devotion which he leaves seldom on holy days; in G this reading is study which he leaves only on holy days. In the F Prologue this devotion to love's literature is the reason for the worship of the daisy—"Now have I than swich a condicioun"—but in G the connection is broken by the statement that besides his study he loves the daisy.

In F the poet worships an individual flower, while in G this individual worship is removed by the expression of the poet's admiration for "these floures," that is, for daisies in general without any symbolism. In F, then, the poet enters the fields in May to see this flower open to the rising sun and to worship the daisy as the incarnation of love after his devotional reading in love's literature. He says he is glad "whan that I have presence Of hit, to doon al maner reverence." In F he addresses the daisy personally, without

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paper, which was begun six years ago under Professor John M. Manly, is intended to supplement these studies by pointing out the large influence of the analogy between the worship of Cupid and the worship of the Christian church upon the details of the prologues and the problem of their relation. Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–14, has shown that this analogy is a common medieval conception.

name, as often in the hymns to the Virgin, for she is "of alle floures flour," "Fulfilled of al vertu and honour," "ever y-lyke fair and fresh of hewe." In G these words are not personal, nor are they addressed to a nameless and adored person designated as "she" but are descriptive of the beauty of the daisy as a flower. In F the poet pledges eternal devotion and says that no creature loved "hotter in his lyve."

In the F Prologue Chaucer runs at sunset to see the flower close for "so hateth she derknesse." He does this in honor of love for she is "clernesse and verray light," that leads him through this world, the mistress of his wit, whom he obeys as the harp the hand. She is his guide, his sovereign, his earthly god. He says he cannot praise the flower sufficiently and calls upon the French poets as "Ye lovers" to aid his labor. In F the poet does this "in service of the flour, Whom that I serve as I have wit or might," (ll. 82–83, F) but in G he is neutral in the contentions between the flower and the leaf. In G none of this fulsome adoration is retained. The poet does not say that his spirit moved him "with so gledy desyr That in my herte I fele yit the fyr." The adored one does not hate darkness nor is she clearness and "verray light." She is not mistress of his wit, his guide, his sovereign, his earthly god. The French poets are not addressed as "Ye lovers" but as folk that have gone before. With the removal of the poet's religious adoration and his joy in the flower's presence, which is like the sacred presence of a shrine, the G Prologue has eliminated the worship of the daisy as the incarnation of love.

In the F Prologue, "With dredful herte and glad devocioun" the poet rises to witness the "resureccioun" of the flower. He kneels before it and remains kneeling until the flower uncloses. He greets the flower in worshipful and religious fashion.[1] The poet remains in the fields all day worshiping the flower for she is his "emperice and flour of floures alle." At home he has his bed strewn with flowers and dreams that when he is lying in the field, the God and Queen of Love come to him. In G these religious words have all been omitted, and the worship of love by the birds has been placed in the dream to remove this worshipful adoration from the poet's waking moments. In the F Prologue the poet's religious adoration of the daisy as at a shrine is very skilfully presented and becomes the reason for Alceste's intercession in his behalf later in the poem.[1]

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[1] The word "grette" is used here with the meaning "to salute in worship," as it is often used in saluting the Virgin with song and gesture.

In the vision described in both prologues, the Queen is habited in semblance of a daisy. The God of Love wears a halo[2] and his face shines so brightly that the poet cannot look upon him. This description is practically the same in the two prologues, except that in G the poet avoids the religious significance of the halo by substituting a garland. In praise of this "lady fre" in F the poet sings a balade, but in G the God stops at the flower, his ladies kneel as at a shrine, then dance, and sing the balade. In this way the balade in G is not a hymn sung by the poet as worship in a religion of love.[3] Also, in F the lines "So passeth al my lady sovereyne That is so good, so fair, so debonaire" (275–76) lose their personal adoration and become "Hir name was Alceste the debonaire." The song of the ladies, "Hele and honour," in F, ll. 296 ff., which is reminiscent of the songs to the Virgin, is omitted in G.

In both prologues Cupid and his train worship the daisy and seat themselves in a circle about it, but in F the poet remains kneeling by the flower, while in G he is "lening faste by under a bente." Cupid accuses the poet of effrontery in kneeling "So nigh myn owne flour." He asserts that the daisy is his relic. The poet has broken the law of god Cupid; he has hindered folk in their "devocioun"; he holds it folly to serve Love; he spreads heresy and encourages schism;[1] in the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Troilus*, he has violated God's law and, "By seint Venus," he shall repent. In G, while the frame of the episode is the same, the poet's worship of Love is removed. He is blamed for being in the god's presence and not for his worship of the daisy. In G the flower is not given the religious name of relic. Instead of holding it folly to serve love, as in F, the poet has, in G, personally offended Cupid by preventing folk from trusting in him. The difference between the prologues is further emphasized here by the statements of Cupid, added in G, that "he nis but a verray propre fool That loveth paramours" and "Thou beginnest dote As olde foles, whan hir spirit fayleth." In F the poet is a votary of love and a worshiper of its god at the shrine of the daisy. In G Chaucer has carefully removed the definite references to an analogy between Christian service and the worship of the god Cupid, and presents himself as an old man out of sympathy with the religion of love.

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[1] Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff., maintains that the poet is an outsider in love in the *Legend of Good Women*. This is true of the G Prologue but in F he says, "I fele yit the fyr" and "loved no wight hotter in his lyve." In G, ll. 400–401, Alceste says, "Whyl he was yong, he kepte your estat; I not wher he be now a renegat." Alceste's playful statement in F, l. 490, "thee lyke nat a lover be," is the only passage in F that excludes the poet from sympathy with lovers. These references make a clear case of the difference of the poet's attitude toward the worship of love in the two prologues.

[2] Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 211, note, refers to Neilson's statement that this is the only case of Cupid wearing a halo that he knows.

[3] It is significant that the revision of F causes the ladies to sing the ballad in G instead of the poet and omits from G the song "Hele and Honour," sung by the ladies kneeling as at a shrine. Although Alceste is mentioned here in the G Prologue, the poet is not, in either version, conscious of her as identical with the Queen of Love until after his penance has been assigned later in the poem. In both versions, at this later point, Cupid reveals the identity of Alceste and commands that the last legend be in her praise. It is possible that the reason for naming Alceste here, in G, is to remove the similarity to hymns of the Virgin which resulted from praising her personally without name and from addressing her as "My lady."

In the G Prologue at this point occurs Cupid's list of reading which is accessible to Chaucer. The god declares that women are true not "for holinesse But al for verray vertu and clennesse." This statement is a retraction of the F Prologue, in which the women were true because of devotion to a religion of love. The G Prologue states that these women were not true to love through a religion but through virtue which is inherent in the nature of women.

By analogy with the position of the Virgin, the Queen of Love becomes the mediator and intercedes for the poet in return for his devotion and his worship of her. In her intercession in F, she presents Cupid as a god and characterizes him as a king who is just, who must rule his court and beware of slanderers, and who should show mercy to unfortunate people. While this characterization applies well to the duties of an earthly king, it is also ecclesiastical and shows the position that a god should hold as the head of a religious system. In F the Queen says, "if ye nere a god," but in G the expression is omitted. The Queen, as intercessor, says that the poet has repented utterly of his works against love, but Chaucer omits this statement from the G version. Besides referring to balades, roundels, virelays as hymns for holy days of Cupid, the Queen refers in F to

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[1] Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

Christian writings as holiness of another kind. This distinction between the holiness of Christian writings and the holiness of Cupid is removed in G by the weak line "And for to speke of other besinesse."[1]

In both prologues, at the intercession of the Queen and because of her grace, Cupid forgives the poet. The poet then kneels to her and gives thanks for her mediation in his favor. The Queen assigns his penance that he write a glorious legend of good women and tell of false men that betrayed them. She says that she will pray the God of Love to aid him in his work and, in F, commands that he present a copy of the legends in her behalf to the Queen at Eltham or at Shene.

In both prologues, after the poet has declared that he has always sought to further truth in love, the Queen speaks the formula, "Thou hast thy grace." Even in this part of the poem, however, some analogies to Christian worship have been removed in the revision of F. The part of Cupid's speech omitted in G, ll. 552 ff., says, "Ne shal no trewe lover come in helle," and tells of twenty thousand women true in love that make up the god's company. Cupid must go home with these true women to "Paradys," but, in parting, he commands the poet to serve always the "fresshe dayesye," his relic.

In the legends themselves that follow, Chaucer's conception of a religion of Cupid analogous to Christian worship is maintained.[2] A saint's legend often describes the martyrdom of the saint and contains a declaration of faith at the end of the story. In writing of his saints who were martyrs to Cupid, Chaucer tells of their sacrifices for love and places at the end of his legends a declaration of devotion to faith. The place of the heathen opposition to the Christian martyr is taken by men who are faithless in love or, as in *Thisbe*, by the fathers who oppose love. This opposition and untruth is wickedness against the divine law of god Cupid. Professor Dodd, by an analysis of each of the legends, has shown that Chaucer changed traditional incidents and characterization and reorganized his stories to suit the fiction of the religion of love.[1] In *Cleopatra*, for example, Anthony is belittled to make him a heathen as regards love and the Queen of the Nile is made a model of virtuous devotion to love. The dying Cleopatra shows the fortitude of a Christian martyr and glories in the most terrible death of a pit of serpents in sacrifice to her worship of Love's religion. This pit of serpents is a conscious addition by Chaucer out of analogy to Christian martyrdom, as this form of torture is often used in Christian saints' legends.[2] Professor Dodd has proved that in a similar way the succeeding legends emphasize the fortitude and the faithfulness of the women who suffer for love and the treachery and wickedness of the men who oppose Love's law.

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[1] See Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, *Studies in Philology*, XVIII, 422, for the medieval meaning of the word "Holynesse."

[2] The rubrics of the first five legends in the Fairfax, Bodley, and Tanner MSS, which have preserved for us *The Book of the Duchess* and which are fifteenth-century copies of a common original, designate these women who suffered for love as "Martyrs."

The present study of the legends and the alterations that Chaucer made in the F Prologue shows that the organizing motif of the *Legend of Good Women* was the presentation, with delightful skill, of a definite religion of Love in analogy to Christian worship. By analogy with the conception of God, Cupid is made a divine judge, loyal to his followers, and approached through an intercessor, who, because of her wondrous grace and vicarious suffering, may plead for divine mercy. In the F Prologue are added the slightly offensive parallels that the god wears a halo, that his worshipers do not come to hell, and that he and his saints dwell in paradise.

The function of Alceste is the same as that of the Virgin in her position as mediator and intercessor, in which she is the embodiment of mercy.[3] Through her may be secured the grace of the God of Love for sins against his law. She is the fairest among women and is to be worshiped at her shrine with hymns that address her personally without name and with postures of Christian worship. The daisy is the relic of this religion, with which Alceste is identified because of her dress. It, too, is worthy of worship as at a shrine and is addressed personally as the embodiment of the living presence of the god. Possibly the same relation existed between the daisy and Alceste as existed between the Virgin and her image.[1]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 218–31.

[2] See, in addition to the common reference to Dante and Professor J. S. P. Tatlock's article in *Modern Language Notes*, XXIX, 98 ff., *Herrig's Archiv*, LVII, 253 ff.; and LXII, 453 ff.; *Vision of Peter* (Robinson and James, London), sec. 10, p. 50; *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, *E.E.T.S.*, Orig. Series 87, p. 206; *An Old English Miscellany*, *E.E.T.S.*, Orig. Series 46, pp. 149, 224, and 227.

[3] An excellent expression of this position of the Virgin is found in Chaucer's *An A.B.C.*, ll. 137 ff.:

"Soth is, that God ne graunteth no pitee
With-oute thee; for God, of his goodnesse,
Foryiveth noon, but it lyke un-to thee.
He hath thee maked vicaire and maistresse
Of all the world, and eek governeresse
Of hevene, and he represseth his justyse
After thy wille, and therefore in witnesse
He hath thee crouned in so ryal wyse."

The religion of Cupid had its system of repentance, penance, and forgiveness, just as the Christian worship had. As it was a work of Christian devotion to read saints' legends and to write stories of martyrdoms, so it was a work of devotion to the God of Love to read "olde stories" and to write legends of the saints of Cupid. Cupid had his holy days and his worship was holiness in contrast to the holiness of Christian service. This religion had its devotions, its reverence, its heresies, its penance, and its absolution. To write of untruth in love with sympathy was wickedness and sin against God's law. This religion had its hell and its saints lived with their god in paradise. This God of Love had his martyrs who died for his religion of love, as did Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, Medea, and Lucretia, and their stories, as in Ovid's *Heroides*, were devotional literature.

In the G Prologue Chaucer changed his attitude, not toward the larger conceptions of the poem—the nature of Cupid, the intercession of Alceste, and the assignment of the legends as penance, if they might be represented in a dream—but toward the details borrowed from Christian worship that might give offense to a strictly religious person. The poet also removed the passages that would show him as a votary of the religion of Love. This revision of the F Prologue removes analogies to the Christian religion in four different ways. (1) He omitted the poet's words of personal adoration and his attitudes of worship. (2) Chaucer removed expressions that had a definite religious significance in the Christian church. These expressions are of three kinds: Christian words of definite significance,[2] words of adoration,[1] and the hymns, which are very reminiscent of the usual worship of the Virgin in Chaucer's time, in that they are sung as to the living presence at a shrine and contain, in the song "Hele and Honour," the commonest word of address to the Virgin and such expressions as "trouthe of womanhede" and "flour that berth our alder prys." (3) Beside the attitudes and words of worship, Chaucer has omitted from G other Christian elements—the reference to hell, the god's departure to paradise, and his halo. (4) This avoidance of religious analogy is further emphasized by the organization of the G Prologue. By placing the dream earlier in the revised prologue, Chaucer has caused such religious elements as are retained to fall in the dream and not in the poet's waking moments. In F the poet is a sympathetic worshiper of this religion of love. In G he is an old man unsympathetic to love and has fallen into an adventure with the God and Goddess of Love in a dream and not because of any personal devotion to their religion.

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[1] See *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, l. 153, where Chaucer refers to the palladium as a relic.

[2] These words are; (all in F) "feyth and ful credence" l. 31; "devocioun," l. 39; "reverence," l. 52; "hateth she derknesse," l. 63; "dredful herte and glad devocioun," l. 109; "resureccioun," l. 110; "relik," l. 321; "if ye nere a god," l. 348; "holynesse," l. 424.

This very significant change in religious attitude suggests a reason for the revision of the F Prologue. It seems tenable that Chaucer in his maturer life became more formally religious and regarded the analogies between the service of the Roman church and the service of Cupid as blasphemous.[2] The main impulse for the revision of the F Prologue probably came from the request of Venus in the last book of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, where are many parallels to Chaucer's poem and a message to the poet himself asking that he continue his work.[3] Chaucer was pleased with the use Gower had made of old age and revised his poem using this "old age" motif and some of

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[1] Aside from the adoration, which is in itself reminiscent of worship, such expressions as "of alle floures flour," "fulfilled of al vertu and honour," "y-lyke fair and fresh of hewe," "clernesse and verray light," "maistresse of my wit," "lady sovereyne," and "erthly god" would, in the mind of a medieval worshiper, have a definite association with the prayers and hymns to the Virgin. The kneeling of the poet before the flower, his day long worship as a votary at a shrine, and his greeting of the flower in religious fashion, all in F and omitted in G, make clear the analogy between the Christian worship of the Virgin and the poet's adoration of the daisy which was omitted in the revision of the F Prologue.

[2] Aside from the evidence given above, this view is further supported by the fact that only serious works can be definitely dated in Chaucer's later years and by his attitude toward his "endytinges of worldly vanitees" in the *Retractions*.

[3] See G. L. Kittredge, "Chaucer's Medea and the Date of the Legend of Good Women," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV (1909), 343 ff.

Gower's stories. He had grown displeased with his own bold analogies between the Christian service and the worship of Cupid and with the representation of himself as a sympathetic votary of that religion. Hence, he reorganized the poem, removed the obvious use of the Christian service and his adoration of the religion of love from his waking moments, and retained, in an impersonal way, much of the material from the French poets.[1] This view is based upon a study of the elements that Chaucer removed from the F Prologue in its revision and would place the revision late in Chaucer's life, at least, after the completion of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* in 1390.

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[1] Other reasons for the revision of the F Prologue have been suggested. Professor J. L. Lowes, "The Legend of Good Women," *PMLA*, XX (1905), 780 ff., suggests that better organization is the reason for the revision. It is somewhat difficult to determine, however, just what would be the medieval conception of "better organization" in dream poems, but, to modern taste, the organization of F is more logical in the early parts of the poem.

The removal of the extravagant elements of French poetry is not the reason for the revision, as many of these elements are retained in G in the dream.

The view (Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer*, pp. 102 ff.) that the personal elements of F were removed after Queen Anne's death, because they referred to her personally, does not explain the removal of the religious analogies. If the F Prologue were personally complimentary to Queen Anne, its revision, in any form, would surely have given offence to King Richard. The complimentary verses of the F Prologue are, however, only commands that a copy of the legends be given to the Queen in accordance with the custom of incorporating such verses in a presentation poem. In any case, the occasion for the reference would be past.

THE *CASTLE OF PERSEVERANCE:* PLACE, DATE, AND A SOURCE

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PLACE

Dr. Furnivall is of the opinion that the dialect of the *Castle of Perseverance* belongs to the East Midlands, more specifically to Norfolk.[1] An examination of the language shows that it does belong to the East Midlands, but there is evidence that it should be placed farther north than the county of Norfolk. Two occurrences of the present participle in *-ande* (*takande*, l. 144; *quenchande*, l. 3604) are probably not of special significance, and they are noted only in passing. More significant is the considerable number of northern words in the play. The following list, though not complete, will furnish illustrations; it consists of words which are labeled by the *New English Dictionary* as chiefly or distinctively Scotch or Northern, or which are cited there in passages predominantly from Scotch and Northern writers:

Rappokis (1895, 1944), ill-behaved persons; *syke* (427), a rill; *byggyng* (593), a building; *bedene* (329), at once; *blodyr* (1966), to weep noisily (related to *blether*, *blother*, *bluther*, which are ascribed to Scotch or Northern dialects); *tak* (2987), tenure or leasehold; *lowe* (2299), a flame; *boun* (476), get ready, prepare; *tyne* (3198), to lose; *gate* (1577), road, way; *rakle* (2653), hurry; *busk* (476), to get ready; *prene* (1904), related to "spike"; *skowtis* (1872), a term of contempt for persons; *brustun-gutte* (235), a greedy person (assigned by the *English Dialect Dictionary* to Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire); *kettis* (1056), tangles; *mowle* (2407), earth; for *laykys* (929), games, as a northern form, see Skeat, *Piers the Plowman and Richard the Redeless*, II, lviii.

The language of the play, then, is East Midland with a northern coloring, a combination which suggests the Northeast Midlands, or Lincolnshire.

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[1] F. J. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, *Macro Plays*, E.E.T.S., p. xxxv.

We turn now to the only direct reference made in the play to a locality in England. This occurs in line 2422, where Mundus speaks of the "galows of Canwyke." Dr. Furnivall, in the glossary, queries: "Candlewick St. (?) now Cannon St., London," and adds "There's a Canwick 1½ m. S.E. of Lincoln." It is true that Candlewick Street in London was formerly called Canwick Street,[1] but there is not a scrap of evidence that connects it with the play.

The reference is clearly, I think, to Canwick just outside the city of Lincoln. The gallows of this village is mentioned in an Anglo-French ballad on the murder of young Hugh of Lincoln, a ballad which appears to be contemporary with the event (A.D. 1255). According to this poem, one of the murderers, named Jopin, was condemned to death by hanging, and the poet adds, "This was done, I know well where, by Canewic, on the high hill."[2]

Again, in the time of Edward III (1327–77), the jurors of the inquisition returned among other items of revenue the sum of "6*s*. 8*d*. for the burial of persons hanged at Canewyke."[3]

This gallows, according to a letter from the Rev. Mr. Watney,[4] vicar of Canwick, stood on Canwick Hill close to the main road to Sleaford—a point from which it and its grim burden were in plain view against the sky from all parts of the city of Lincoln.

In a diligent search I have found no other references to the gallows of Canwick; hence it is probable that—unlike Tyburn Hill, for example—Canwick was not widely known as a place of execution and that its fame was local. This points to the vicinity of Lincoln as the locality where the *Castle of Perseverance* was written—perhaps by an inmate of one of the religious houses of the district.

We know that from the latter part of the fourteenth century down to the time of Elizabeth, plays were given in the city of Lincoln. There are references to performances in the years 1397–98, 1406, 1410–11, 1420, 1424–25, 1441–42, 1447–48, 1452–53, 1455–56, 1456–57, 1471–72, 1473–74—to give only those in the later fourteenth and in the fifteenth century. These were of various types: Pater Noster plays, plays of St. Laurence, St. Susanne, St. Clara, King Robert of Sicily, and others.[1] If the *Castle of Perseverance* belongs to the city proper, we have a very important addition to this list; but there is no evidence that the play does belong to the city rather than to some other place in that locality.

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[1] See "London Lackpenny," in *Percy Society Publications*, II, 106.

[2] F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, III, 237–39.

[3] *Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, 1843, p. 42.

[4] I am deeply indebted to the Rev. Mr. Watney for some interesting traditions concerning the gallows—traditions which, until recently, were still current among the older people in the village of Canwick.

Another point concerning the locale of the play remains to be considered. My conclusion here is offered only as a conjecture, but it seems to me to be plausible.

The play proper is preceded in the manuscript by a prologue which was spoken by two vexillators who, when the company was on tour, went through the country as advance agents, announcing the coming performance.[2] In this prologue, as in that of the N-town cycle, blanks are left for the insertion of the name of the district through which the announcement was made, and the town in which the performance was to be given. There are three of these blanks, two of which occur in the following passage:

> ȝe manly men of ———, þus Crist saue ȝou all!
> he maynten ȝoure myrthis, & kepe ȝou fro greve,
>   þat born was of Mary myld in an ox stall.
> Now, mercy be all ———, & wel mote ȝe cheve!
>   All oure feythful frendys, þus fayre mote ȝe fall!
> ȝa, & welcum be ȝe whanne ȝe com, prys for to preve.

In this passage, it will be noticed, the four successive lines which contain the two blanks for the name are alliterated on *m*. This can hardly be an accident: the writer, I think, certainly had in mind some locality having a name beginning with this letter. Now, if in the first line we supply the name Manlee (modern Manley),[3] a district or wapentake in Lincolnshire, extending to within about 12 miles of Lincoln, on the north, this line reads, "ȝe *manly* men of *Manlee,* þus Crist saue ȝou all," with a play on the words *manly* and *Manlee.* In the fourth line we have, "Now, mercy be all *Manlee,* & wel mote ȝe cheve." This conjecture supplies a word which in both lines fits into the alliterative scheme, satisfies the requirements of meter, and at the same time is motivated by the instinct for a play on words.

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[1] See E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, 377, and A. F. Leach in the *Furnivall Miscellany*, pp. 223 ff. Professor Hardin Craig has suggested that the *Ludus Coventriae* (N-town cycle) belongs to Lincoln (*University of Minnesota Studies in Language and Literature*, I, 72).

[2] The present manuscript, it will be remembered, is not the original (see below under "Date") and, according to Mr. Pollard, belongs to a considerably later date. We do not know whether this prologue was also in the original manuscript; hence what is said here regarding Manley may refer only to later performances, not to the initial one. In some points the prologue does not agree with the extant text of the play, but the differences cannot be discussed here.

[3] The name of this district is spelled Manlee and Manle in documents of 1284–85, 1316, 1428, and 1431 (see *Feudal Aids*, III, 184, 266, 363, 371).

These two blanks are for the name of the district through which the play was announced; the blank for the town where the performance was to be given occurs in the following passage:

> þese parcellis in propyrtes we purpose us to playe
> þis day seuenenyt, be-fore ȝou in syth,
> At ——— on þe grene, in ryall a-ray.
> ȝe haste ȝou þanne þedyrward, syris, hendly in hyth,
> All goode neyboris, ful specyaly we ȝou pray,
> & loke þat ȝe be þere be-tyme, luffely & lyth.

If alliteration was intended in the third line, we should have to supply a town having a name beginning with *g* or with *r.* The old records show a number of villages with these initials in the wapentake of Manley—Gunnesse, Gamelsthorpe, Gunthorpe, and Gerlethorpe; Rysby, Redburne, and Roxby, for example[1]—and it is possible that the writer was thinking of some such place, but the passage is not so heavily alliterated as the other one and this point should not be insisted on too strongly.

It is probable that more than one performance of the play was given by a company making a tour of the country. The diagram or plan of the scene which accompanies the prologue in the extant manuscript contains the following statement, written in the space included between the two circles which indicate the moat around the castle: "þis is þe watyr a-bowte þe place, if any dyche may be mad, þer it schal be pleyed, or ellys þat it be strongely barryd al a-bowt." In other words, a ditch was to be dug if conditions allowed, but if this was not feasible a fence or barrier was to be built. This is apparently for the guidance of the stage-builders under the different conditions that they might meet in different towns.

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[1] *Feudal Aids,* III, 184, 266, 363.

To summarize: The available evidence indicates that the *Castle of Perseverance* was written in the neighborhood of Lincoln. Whether it was originally performed in that city or in some other place in the vicinity, we do not know. But if the previous conjecture is correct, at some time or other the play was given by a company touring through the wapentake of Manley. It was for the advance agents of this tour that the prologue was written, and it was this district that the writer had in mind when he made his lines alliterate on *m*. This theory, however, does not preclude the possibility that the company afterward went beyond the limits of Manley and gave performances in other parts of the county. If this was the case, we may assume that the vexillators simply inserted the names of the other districts without regard to the alliteration. But there is no evidence that the tour was actually thus extended.

DATE

The probable date for the writing of the manuscript of the *Castle of Perseverance* is given by Mr. Pollard as about 1440. He points out also that this manuscript is not the original copy and suggests that it dates from a time considerably later than that of the original.[1]

Concerning the time when the play itself was written, Mr. Pollard says: "How early in the fifteenth century we may place the *Castle of Perseverance* is a question which must be decided by philologists, but on literary grounds I should like to place it as early as possible, not much later than 1425."[2] In a previous discussion, the same writer suggested a time not "later than the middle of the reign of Henry VI,"[3] that is, about 1440.

Professor Gayley assigns the date to about 1400,[4] and in one place comments as follows: "If the plays called the *Pride of Life* and the *Castell of Perseverance* date from the first decade of the fifteenth century, *as appears to be established*, they also must have been composed while the miracles were in process of formation,"[5] etc. So far as I know, this date has never been "established," and I have not been able to find Mr. Gayley's proof for the statement. Nevertheless I incline to his view and offer some evidence in support of this point.

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[1] *Macro Plays*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv; see also p. xxxii.

[3] A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, 1895, p. 197.

[4] C. M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 293.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 281. The italics are mine.

The first bit of evidence is in lines 1061 ff., where Pride, in describing the costume that Mankind should wear, says:

Loke þou blowe mekyl bost,
  with longe Crakows on þi schos;
Jagge þi Clothis in euery cost,
  & ellis men schul lete þee but a goos.

Crakows—sometimes called "poleyns" and also "pykes"—were long, pointed toes on shoes. The expression "jagge þi clothis in euery cost" refers to the custom of slashing the edges of garments to show the rich coloring of apparel underneath.

The same combination of pointed shoes and slashed clothes occurs in several other poems and treatises, usually in passages satirizing excess in apparel. I have found the following examples:

ca. 1380. Tagged clothes and crakowe pykis.[1]
ca. 1395. Cutted clothes to sewe hir hewe,
With longe pykes on hir shoon.[2]
ca. 1400. Cuttede clothes and pyked schone.[3]
ca. 1400 [?]. Dagged cloþes and longe pyked crakowed shon.[4]

Thus we have the two items, pointed shoes and jagged clothes, combined as in the *Castle of Perseverance*, in productions of about 1380, 1395, 1400, and in another poem which, so far as the evidence goes, may be placed about 1400 with as much certainty, at least, as it can be placed later.

References to pointed shoes alone occur in the years 1362–67,[5] 1388,[6] 1393–98,[7] 1409–10,[8] 1450,[9] and as late as 1463–64 a law was passed restricting the length of "pykes" on shoes.[1] Jagged clothing is satirized about 1380,[2] 1393–98,[3] and again in 1399.[4]

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[1] A treatise on *Antecrist*, quoted in *New English Dictionary* (under "Crakow").

[2] *The Plowmans Tale*, ll. 929, 930; in W. W. Skeat, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, VII, 176. Date in *ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

[3] John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, l. 43. This was supposedly written about 1400, according to O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader*, 1908, p. 282.

[4] Kail, *Twenty-six Political and Other Poems*, E.E.T.S., p. 93. The editor does not give a date for this poem, but he says that it is by the author of the other poems in the collection, which he dates from 1400 to 1421 (see his Introduction).

[5] F. S. Haydon, *Eulogium Historiarum*, "Rolls Series," III, 230–31. The date of this entry is given in the chronicle as 1362; in the *New English Dictionary*, as 1367.

[6] "A Poem on the Times," in T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, "Rolls Series," I, 275.

[7] *Piers Plowman*, C Text, XXIII, 219; see also B Text, XX, 218.

[8] *The Lanterne of Liȝt*, E.E.T.S., p. 132, l. 7.

[9] "On the Corruption of Public Manners," in Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

It is a commonplace in the books on costume, such as those by Fairholt and Planché, that the two articles cited above are prominent features of dress in the reign of Richard II (1377–99). They were not, however, confined to that period, and consequently a reference to them in a play is not conclusive evidence that it was written at this time. Nevertheless, the massing of dates in the preceding list of satirical passages is significant. Since the majority of the references belong to 1400 or earlier, it is fair to assume that this is the time when, because of their comparative newness, these fashions aroused the most opposition. Later, as people became accustomed to them, we may suppose that even the moralists and satirists took them as a matter of course. Hence, when we find them referred to in a satire on dress in the *Castle of Perseverance,* there is some ground for placing the play near the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A similar argument may be deduced from another incident in the play. The account of the attack on the castle and a similar passage in the *Reply of Friar Daw Topias* (date, 1401–2) appear to have a common source (see the discussion under "Source"). Both of these accounts are also related to an episode in *Piers Plowman* (B Text, date 1377; C Text, 1393–98). Here, again, in the absence of proof to the contrary, it is more reasonable to assign the play to near the same general time than to place it later.

Moreover, in lines 1742–48 of the *Castle of Perseverance,* Detraccio says

> I make men masyd & mad,
> & euery man to kyllyn odyr
> with a sory chere.
> I am glad, be Saynt Jamys of Galys,
> Of schrewdnes to tellyn talys
> boþyn in Ingelond & in Walys,
> & feyth I haue many a fere.

These lines may contain a reference to Owen Glendower's rebellion against Henry IV. Up to the time of Richard II's deposition in

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[1] A. Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages,* p. 155.

[2] Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (Globe ed., Macmillan), p. 279, ll. 415 ff.

[3] *Piers Plowman,* C Text, XXIII, 143.

[4] *Richard the Redeless,* Passus III, ll. 145 ff., in Skeat, *Piers the Plowman and Richard the Redeless,* I, 619.

1399, Wales had been comparatively quiet and peaceful. The Welsh were strongly attached to that ruler, and tumults became common after he was removed from the throne. In 1400, they broke into open revolt under the leadership of Glendower, a revolt that was characterized by cruelty and savagery on both sides. Henry IV led an expedition into Wales in 1402, but it was unsuccessful. Glendower's power was at its height in 1404. By 1408 South Wales was again in Henry's hands, and although the Welsh chieftain held out in the North, his power rapidly declined. In 1411, the trouble had so far subsided that a pardon was issued for all but two of the rebels.

The reference to England in the lines quoted, taken in conjunction with the reference to Wales—it seems to me that they are not brought together accidentally in the passage—suggests at once the rebellion of the Percies in 1403, which was closely connected with that of Glendower. Edmund Mortimer, a brother-in-law of Harry Hotspur, had married Glendower's daughter, and before the Percies revolted they had effected a coalition with the Welsh leader, who was already in arms. Many Welshmen joined the ranks of the Percies, and Glendower, it appears, was to have been with them at the battle of Shrewsbury. He did not arrive, however, and the rebels were defeated.[1]

This passage in the play, if we accept the interpretation presented above, gives us the year 1403 as a *terminus a quo* in determining the date. The statement is made in the present tense: Detraccio seems to be referring to events contemporaneous or at least recent. Hence, on this evidence, together with that furnished by the satire on costume and the connection of the play with *Friar Daw* and *Piers Plowman*, we shall probably be not far wrong in assigning the *Castle of Perseverance* to about the middle of the first decade of the fifteenth century, or in round numbers about 1405.

A SOURCE FOR THE CENTRAL EPISODE: THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE[2]

The central episode in the *Castle of Perseverance* is the siege of the castle. The general outline of the situation is as follows: Mankind has repented of his sins and has taken refuge in the castle as a defense against temptation. This castle is defended by the Seven Virtues, against whom the Seven Deadly Sins make three assaults to regain possession of Mankind. First, the Devil sends his army, consisting of Pride, Envy, and Wrath; then Caro (the Body) directs his forces, Sloth, Gluttony, and Lechery, to advance to the attack. These are beaten by the corresponding virtues, and retreat in confusion. Finally, at the command of the World, Covetousness advances, and with fair promises and glozing words persuades Mankind to forsake the castle and follow him.

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[1] See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, article on "Owen Glendower."

[2] A passage in *Piers Plowman* (A Text, Passus X; C Text, Passus XI) and one in Bishop Grosseteste's *Castle of Love* have been suggested as possible sources of the siege in the *Castle of Perseverance*. For a summary of these two passages, and Dr. Furnivall's objections to them as sources, see *Macro Plays*, p. xxxix. See also W. Roy Mackenzie, "The Origin of the English Morality," in *Washington University Studies*, Vol. II, Part II, No. 2, pp. 157 ff.

In this episode the significant features for our study are the arms of the Sins and their method of attack:

Pride bears the banner [1937, 2081].

Wrath bears "styffe stonys" and "slynges" many a "vyre" [cross-bolt] [2113].

Envy has a bow [2160].

Gluttony carries faggots to set Mankind in a flame, and with meat and drink nourishes Lechery [1962, 2253, 2259]. He also has a lance [1964].

Lechery carries coals, and kindles a fire in Man's "towte" [2290–92].

Sloth bears a spade [2327, 2353].

Covetousness uses fair words and promises [2428 ff.].

Compare this equipment with that given in the following lines from the *Reply of Friar Daw Topias* (dated 1401 by Wright 1402 by Skeat).[1] In this passage, Friar Daw, representing the mendicant orders, says to Jack Uplande, representing the Wycliffites:

> It ar ȝe that stonden bifore,
> in Anticristis vauwarde,
> and in the myddil and in the rerewarde,
> ful bigly enbatailid.
> The devel is ȝour duke,
> and pride berith the baner;
> wraththe is ȝoure gunner,
> envie is ȝour archer,
> ȝour coveitise castith fer,
> ȝour leccherie brennith,
> glotony giderith stickes therto,
> and sleuthe myneth the wallis,
> malice is ȝour men of armes,
> and trecherie is ȝour aspie.

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[1] Wright, *op. cit.*, II, 57, 58. For the date see *ibid.*, p. xi, and Skeat, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Clarendon Press), VII, xxxvii.

It is obvious that there is a relation between the *Castle of Perseverance* and this passage, but before this matter is taken up, it is necessary to examine a passage in *Piers Plowman*, C Text, Passus XXII ff., which may be summarized as follows:

> Unity or Holy Church is represented as a "pile" or fortress surrounded by a ditch [XXII, 358–66]. Conscience commands Christians to come into this fortress as a protection against their enemies. Antichrist advances against Conscience and Pride bears his banner. The attack is warded off by Nature, with his allies, Eld and Death, who kill many [XXIII, 69–109].
>
> Fortune now sends Lechery, who bears a bow and many broad arrows. Then comes Covetise, whose weapon was "al wiles to wynne and to huyden; With glosynges and with gabbyngs he gylede the people." He is followed by Sloth, who "a slynge made, and threw drede of dispayr a doseyne myle a-boute" [XXIII, 110–164].
>
> Finally, Conscience, immured in Holy Church, is besieged by the Seven Deadly Sins "that with Antecrist helden." Sloth "with hus slynge an hard saut he made," and with him were over a hundred proud priests that held with Covetise [XXIII, 212–27; 373–76].

The preceding details are scattered through a long passage in the poem. The author does not describe the attack definitely, and he introduces long digressions in the manner characteristic of the C Text.

In order to show the relation between the preceding three accounts, the significant features are given in parallel columns:

	Castle	*Friar Daw*	*Piers Plowman*
Antichrist	not present	present	present
Troop leaders	World, Flesh, Devil	Devil	Fortune
Pride	bears banner	bears banner	bears banner
Wrath	bears stones; slings bolts	is the gunner	not present
Envy	has a bow	is the archer	not present
Covetise	uses promises, fair words	casts fire	uses wiles, fair words
Lechery	bears coals; kindles fire	burns	bears bow and arrows
Gluttony	carries faggots; feeds Lechery	gets sticks for Lechery's fire	not present
Sloth	has spade	mines the walls [with spade?]	bears sling

What is the relation between these accounts? There are obvious points of similarity: the general situation is the same—an attack made by the forces of evil on a castle defended by the forces of good;[1] the equipment of Pride is the same in all, and the equipment or method of fighting employed by the other Sins is similar in nature although the various items are, in some cases, differently distributed among the Sins.

This similarity, however, does not prove a direct borrowing one from the other. The *Piers Plowman* version, which is incomplete and shows the greatest variation in details, is not the source of the other two.[2] The accounts in *Friar Daw* and the *Castle of Perseverance* are more closely related. *Friar Daw,* however, is not derived from the *Castle,* for this theory will not explain how Antichrist, who does not appear in the *Castle,* is found in *Friar Daw* and also in *Piers Plowman,* the earliest version of the three. On the other hand, the *Castle of Perseverance* is not based on *Friar Daw,* for in the matter of the equipment of Covetousness the *Castle* differs from *Friar Daw* and agrees with *Piers Plowman.* In other words, we have two accounts which are very similar but which differ in two important points: Antichrist and the arms of Covetousness. In the first point, *Friar Daw* agrees with *Piers Plowman;* in the other, the *Castle* agrees with *Piers Plowman.* Evidently these variations cannot be explained as original ideas introduced by one writer in the process of borrowing from the other.

Both the similarity and dissimilarity of the three versions can be most easily accounted for by assuming the influence of a common source, which each writer used more or less freely. In a diligent search I have not been able to find this source, and perhaps it is now lost. Presumably, however, it was an account of an attack made by Antichrist and his followers on religion or the church—so much may be gathered from the nature of the episode in *Friar Daw* and *Piers Plowman;* and it was, therefore, a part of the great body of Antichrist literature and tradition which sprang up during the Lollard agitation in England.[1]

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[1] Although a fortress is not definitely mentioned in *Friar Daw,* it is clearly implied in the statement that "sleuthe myneth the wallis." The entire passage has the appearance of being a general summary of a more specific account.

[2] Professor Skeat, in a note on the passage in *Piers Plowman,* calls attention to the lines in *Friar Daw,* and remarks that the author of the latter "seems to have read our author's account of Antichrist's battle-array carefully" (*Piers the Plowman and Richard the Redeless,* II, 277). If by this statement he means that the passage in *Friar Daw* is derived directly from the one in *Piers Plowman,* he is clearly mistaken.

It was from this source, we assume, that the writer of the *Castle of Perseverance* borrowed the idea of an attack made on a castle by the Seven Deadly Sins equipped with specific arms. He naturally dropped the connection with Antichrist because that was foreign to his purpose. There is no evidence that he derived from this account the suggestion for the series of single combats between the Sins and the Virtues or for the division of the Sins into three troops under the leadership of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. Both of these features are conventional elements in medieval literature, and it is quite possible that our author added them to his account on his own initiative, without direct influence from any source.[2] It is probable, also, that he did not borrow from the Antichrist source either the arguments or the phrasing used in the dialogues between the Virtues and the Sins. In these matters he gives the definite impression of originality.

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[1] The epithet "Antichrist" was constantly used by Wycliffe, his disciples, and his successors in referring to their opponents—the Pope, the bishops, the monks, and the friars. In turn, it was applied to the Wycliffites by the other party. Scores of citations could be made to the use of the term in this connection.

[2] These two features are found in the *Castle of Love*, which Professor Mackenzie thinks is the source of the play (*op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.). But in my judgment, the poem and the play have no specific points of resemblance which would indicate any direct relation between them.

THE CAPTIVITY EPISODE IN SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA*

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Certain aspects of Sidney's story of the captivity of the two princesses by the wicked Cecropia (*Arcadia*, Book III) throw light upon the political and philosophical thought of the author. The episode as a whole refers, I believe, to Sidney's sense of the peril in the French marriage that seemed imminent at the time when he wrote *Arcadia*, while the debate between Cecropia and Pamela introduces an attack upon the Lucretian philosophy, in a passage notable also for its style and its relationship to Spenser and Milton. In order to get the situation clearly before the reader, I append an abstract of those parts of the episode that I propose to discuss.

I. Taking advantage of the withdrawal of Basileus from active direction of his kingdom, and desiring to secure the realm for herself through the marriage of her son to one of the two princesses, Cecropia seizes Pamela and Philoclea and shuts them up in her castle. She attempts to persuade Philoclea to accept the love of Amphialus, promising that the castle and the territories it controls shall be hers. To this Philoclea responds that she has vowed to remain a virgin until her death. Cecropia inveighs against such a vow, holding that marriage and children bring happiness and immortality. Failing to move Philoclea, the queen turns next to Pamela.

II. She finds Pamela making a purse, interweaving roses and lilies that were not so fair as her lips and hands. The queen praises Pamela's beauty and its power, to which the girl replies that she had never thought of beauty as more than a pleasant mixture of natural colors, delightful to the eye as music to the ear; but without any further consequence, since it is a thing often possessed by beasts and even by stones and trees. Cecropia says this but proves the excellence of beauty, and especially of beauty in women. By it women surpass men in power since men win glory only through effort but beautiful women command it, or rather win it without commanding. Thus beauty is the crown of feminine greatness. To Pamela's remark that if it is of so great excellence, it ought never to be defiled, Cecropia argues that love is no defilement but beauty's right. As colors are valueless unless seen, so is beauty nothing without the eye of love to behold it. Beauty vanishes, devoured by Time; enjoy the heaven of your age, whereof you are sure, like a good householder who uses betimes that which cannot be preerved. The seasons teach the same lesson: in the April of your age, you hould be like April.

III. Pamela refuses to listen to this advice, whereupon Cecropia upbraids ier for fear and over-scrupulous conscience. Devotion [religion], she says, s indeed the best bond which politic wits have found to hold men to well-loing. As children must first by fear be induced to learn that which aftervards they see is for their good, so these bugbears of opinion brought by reat clerks into the world have served to keep men from faults which the vorld's vanities and the weakness of sense might otherwise have brought hem to. But Pamela should be too wise to heed such vulgar opinions. 'Fear, and indeed, foolish fear, and fearful ignorance, was the first inventor f those conceits. For, when they heard it thunder, not knowing the natural ause, they thought there was some angry body above, that spake so loud; nd ever the less they did perceive, the more they did conceive." So they orgot that yesterday was but as today, and tomorrow will follow the same rack; all things follow but the course of their own nature, saving only man, vho, while he strives by imagination to attain to things supernatural, only oses his natural felicity.

IV. Pamela's reply is a sustained and indignant repudiation of this nechanistic philosophy. The order of nature is proof of constancy in the verlasting governor. Religion is not the product of superstitious fear hrough man's ignorance of the causes of things; each effect hath a cause; his is the basis of religion. For this goodly universe hath not his being by hance, for eternity and chance are self-contradictory. That is chanceable vhich happeneth, and if it happen, there was a time before it happened when t might not have happened. If it had a beginning, that beginning was not lerived from chance, for chance could never make all things of nothing, nd if there were substances before which by chance met to form the unierse, the argument is absurd, for then those substances must have been rom ever, and so eternal, and that eternal causes should have brought forth hance effects is as sensible as that the sun should be the author of darkness. urthermore, chance is variable, or it is not chance, but this universe is teady and permanent. If nothing but chance created the universe, the eavy parts would have gone infinitely downward, the light infinitely upward, nd so never have met to make up this goodly body. Perfect order, perfect eauty, perfect constancy result not from chance. Furthermore, if you ay it is so by nature, this is to say it is so because it is so; if you mean of nany natures conspiring together, it is as if the elementish and ethereal arts had a meeting in a town-house to set down the bounds of each one's ffice; but there must have been a wisdom to make them concur. If you nean such a wisdom by nature, we are in agreement; but if by nature you nean that which operates it knows not why, it is the same absurdity as your heory of chance. The argument concludes with a defence of the omnicience and providence of God.

I desire now to discuss briefly the four sections into which I have divided my summary. That Sidney felt the importance of his subject is evident in the style. As he proceeds, the eccentricities of the Arcadian rhetoric disappear. He writes with a passionate intensity that proves his sincerity. It is a carefully planned refutation of a mechanistic philosophy that must have seemed to him a dangerous adversary. The fact that politics, ethics, religion, and a cosmic theory are all related to a discussion about love and beauty need not trouble us. Such a practice, in the age of *Il Cortegiano* and the *Faerie Queene,* was thoroughly characteristic.

I

In a study of *Arcadia* published some years ago, I gave reasons for regarding the romance as an example of Elizabethan allegory, a sort of prose counterpart of the *Faerie Queene,* in which Sidney's intention, at least in part, was not vaguely moral but was intended to apply to political conditions in his own time and to the crisis that he saw was coming upon England.[1] That crisis, I believe, was the conflict with Spain, with all that that conflict involved in Sidney's thought. But the French marriage, imminent in 1580 and for protesting against which Sidney was in enforced retirement at the time when he wrote *Arcadia,* was a phase in the larger conflict. Since Bartholomew, Englishmen had looked upon Catherine de Medici as a monster. She was the subject of many pamphleteering attacks.[2] English translations of some of the most severe of these attacks were widely circulated. In English correspondence, she appears as "Mad. de la Serpente."[3] Knollys said that the French marriage was "plotted out by the serpentine subtlety of the Queen mother's head."[4] The marriage was regarded as a popish plot to get control of England and to prevent the formation of a religious (Protestant) league such as Sidney had in mind.[5] There is abundant testimony to show that

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[1] *Kittredge Anniversary Papers,* 1913, pp. 322 ff. See especially pp. 336–37.

[2] See Baird, *The Rise of the Huguenots,* I, 444 ff., for illustrations.

[3] For example Hatfield House MSS, II, 30.

[4] Letter to Leicester, June 1, 1580. *Calendar Domestic Papers,* 1547–80, p. 658.

[5] On this league, see his correspondence with Languet, *passim.* In 1576, he went to Vienna, to condole with the Emperor Rodolphus on the death of his father. His real purpose was to awaken the Emperor to the danger from Rome and to form a

Sidney, more than most of his contemporaries, possessed the faculty of visioning the tendencies of European politics not by sections affecting some particular matter of diplomacy, but as a whole. He was politically minded. Through the entire period from 1572 to 1580, abroad and at home, his letters and the testimony of his friends indicate his sense of the danger of what seemed to him to be the lethargy of those who should be about uniting Protestant Europe. When, in 1580, the French marriage seemed assured, his letter to the Queen, one of the boldest and sincerest analyses of the politics of that time that we have, showed his perception of the gravity of the situation. What wonder, then, in the retirement to which his imprudence forced him, seeking to divert his mind by the writing of a romance, that his romance itself should be colored by thoughts that had been his companions for ten years. I do not believe that he wrote the romance primarily as a political allegory. Basileus, of course, is not Elizabeth, but the Prince, the type of a prince misguided by want of perception of his duties, set over against Evarchus, type of princely wisdom. But Cecropia, dark, sinister, with something of the serpent about her, whose *coup* is in a sense the climax which arouses Basileus to a sense of his peril, is the Queen Mother of France. Her plot is to force a marriage with her son, just as Catherine sought to entrap Elizabeth into a marriage with Alençon. Since Sidney was treading dangerous ground, and also since the whole episode must fit the conditions of his complicated plot, the situation is partially disguised. But I think it is impossible to study his characterization of Cecropia, a powerful and original portrait, without being reminded in many ways of Catherine. Her subtlety, her atheism, her worldliness, the suggestion of almost demonic personality, her plot to gain control of the realm of Basileus by means of this

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religious alliance to meet the peril. See Birch, *Memoir*, I, 3; Zouch, pp. 88–89, 103. The correspondence with Languet shows that the two friends agreed that the Protestant princes of Europe were asleep, oblivious of their danger. See especially his letter of May 7, 1574, which expresses just such a situation as Basileus, retired from public responsibilities and following his own personal concerns, represents in *Arcadia:* "This at least is certain, that our princes are enjoying too deep a slumber: nevertheless while they indulge in this repose, I would have them beware that they fall not into that malady in which death itself goes hand in hand with its counterpart" (ed., Bradley, p. 66). See also the letter of May 28, 1574, and Languet's letters of May 7, 1574, December 3, 1575, and June 14, 1577.

marriage, are parallels too close to escape notice.[1] To these points should be added the facts that in his letter to the Queen, Sidney had called Alençon "the son of a Jezebel of our age," and that Clinias, "a verball craftie coward" (Book II, chap. xxvii), who was "privie to al the mischievous devises wherewith she went about to mine Basilius . . . . for the advauncing of her son," reminds one of Simier, to whom Catherine intrusted the negotiations for the marriage. Simier is the Ape in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and Trompart in the *Faerie Queene.*

II

The second "incident" is the injunction of Cecropia to Pamela to make use of her beauty. The passage is one of many dealing with one aspect or another of what has been called the religion of beauty in women. Some elements in it remind one of the discussion about the power of beauty in the fourth book of *Il Cortegiano,* and Sidney may very well have had that discussion in mind. The argument parallels closely that used by Braggadocchio in his encounter with Belphoebe (*Faerie Queene,* II, iii, 38 ff.), and Pamela's reply is similar to that of Belphoebe. The parallel has further interest because Braggadocchio is meant by Spenser to typify the same malign influence as Sidney embodies in his Cecropia. Moreover, the two writers are dealing with the same situation, for I think there is no doubt that Spenser is portraying the monstrous and absurd presumption of Alençon in his Braggadocchio, while Trompart represents Simier. The thing has become burlesque, because the danger had passed when Spenser wrote the passage. Spenser's use of the incident here, and the parallel in motif between Braggadocchio's argument and that of Cecropia, indicate direct influence of the *Arcadia* upon the *Faerie Queene.* Finally, the entire situation is also an analogue to that of *Comus.* The passage, therefore, deserves to be brought into relation with a motif that runs through a considerable body of literature in the Renaissance.

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[1] I have no space here for the discussion of the extent to which these things were recognized by readers of the romance. It must be remembered, of course, that it was circulated only in MS until 1590, when the danger of the marriage had passed and the greater crisis of the clash with Philip had culminated in the Armada. I do not believe that Sidney wrote with propagandist design. He had done his utmost in his letter to the Queen. But when he wrote, his knowledge of life, his acquaintance with the great actors on the stage of Europe, and his ideal of what a prose poem should be, all combined to color his narrative. That Cecropia equals Catherine, therefore, indicates not so much formal allegorical intent as the sort of influence that we find in the writings of many other novelists. I append two characteristic references, however, to indicate that his contemporaries saw cryptic things in *Arcadia.* Harvey, in *Pierces Supererogation* (ed., Brydges, *Archaica,* II, 66), connects Sidney with Comines and remarks: "There want not some subtle stratagems of importance, and some politic secrets of privity." And Greville, in his *Memoir,* remarks that the intention of *Arcadia* is to show that when princes put off public action they incur contempt and pave the way to the ruin of the state.

III

The third and fourth "incidents" in my summary embody a criticism of the Lucretian physics that is remarkable for its vigor and the keenness of its analysis. The argument gets pretty close to one of the most famous theological and scientific debates of the Middle Ages: whether the world had a beginning. This was seemingly denied by Aristotle in the aphorism: "From nothing nothing can be made."[1] Sidney's interest in the subject sprang, I believe, from his intimacy with Duplessis Mornay.[2] The two men had much in common, and some years later Sidney began the translation of his friend's book against atheism, in which are many suggestions of the Cecropia-Pamela debate.[3] The book was directed especially against the Epicurean philosophy, and Lucretius is often singled out as the chief enemy of religion. Against the doctrine of chance stressed in *De rerum natura,* Duplessis argues for "a steadie and fast settled order, and every creature to do service in his sort." The "epicures," we read, are so "carried away and overmastered by the course of the world . . . . so as they can have no other course or discourse then the world." Against them "we alledge this principle of their owne, that naturally of nothing, nothing is made. It is the saying of Aristotle, and the Schooles would have him by the eares that should denie it." Duplessis shows thorough study of the ancient theories of creation. In his discussion of Lucretius' argument about the comparative shortness of human annals, he translates several lines from *De rerum natura.* There are frequent references to Lucretius, indicating that Duplessis regarded him as a formidable adversary. As to the beginning of the world, he cites "the epicures" as acknowledging that "it had a beginning, howbeit by hap-hazard and not by providence," a statement which gives the main thesis of Pamela's reply.

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[1] On the debate in medieval times, see Duhem, *Le Système du Monde, tome* V, *passim,* especially his account of Roger Bacon (pp. 401 ff.) and of Albertus Magnus (pp. 432 ff.).

[2] Sidney probably met this brilliant Huguenot scholar in 1572, just before Bartholomew, when he also became acquainted with Ramus (who was slain in the massacre) and Languet. These three men were notable influences in his life. In 1577, when he returned from his foreign travels filled with the determination to bring about a union of Protestant princes under the leadership of Elizabeth, Sidney found Duplessis in London and for eighteen months was intimately associated with him. See *Memoires* by Mme de Mornay, p. 117, cited Wallace, *Life of Sidney,* p. 183.

[3] "A Woorke Concerning the truenesse of Christian Religion: Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels. Written in French, by Philip of Mornay, Lord of Plessis and Marly. Begunne to be translated into English, by that honourable and worthy Gentleman, Sir Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding." I use the fourth edition, London, 1617.

The attack on Lucretius by Duplessis was not the only sign of the influence of the great Latin poem on the thought of the time. Bacon's debt is unmistakable, and is more far reaching than we have supposed. That Spenser made use of the Lucretian philosophy, I have pointed out in an earlier essay.[1] The most popular poem of the time in England was Sylvester's translation of the *Divine Week* by Du Bartas. In this poem, Du Bartas repeatedly inveighs against the cosmic theories of Lucretius; it might almost be said that his chief intention was to write a cosmological poem in answer to *De rerum natura.* The rising tide of interest in science, with its tendency, as many thought, to atheism, was reflected in English literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in a way that anticipates the conflict between religion and science precipitated in the nineteenth century by the advent of Darwinism. The tendency of the new science was felt to be mechanistic, and the arch-fiend, the suggester of scientific investigation and therefore most fruitful abettor of atheism, was Lucretius.

That Sidney should have been influenced by French Huguenot writings against Lucretius is therefore easy to understand in view of his friendships and the natural propensities of his mind. But I believe that the passage now under discussion shows a keener analysis and a more careful study of the doctrine than he could have got merely from these secondary sources. To men like Duplessis, Languet, Du Bartas, and Sidney, the purpose of Lucretius must have seemed twofold. First of all, he sought to destroy religion, not merely pagan religion but the religious instinct in man. Second, for the classical cosmogony, which during the medieval period was reconciled in its most important traits with the biblical account, he substituted a mechanistic philosophy in which the fundamental principles were the doctrine of atoms (*semina rerum*) and the doctrine of chance. In brief, the essentials of his philosophy, as interpreted by the men with whom we are here dealing, were: (1) religion is founded on fear, and is to be dissipated by further knowledge; (2) the universe had its origin not as the work of a divine creator but by the fortuitous meeting of substances (atoms) in space. Both these fundamental topics Sidney discusses.

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[1] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Studies in Philology*, October, 1920.

In the third "incident," the theme is fear as the basis of religion. The argument of Cecropia, which is intended to paraphrase the Lucretian position, I have summarized at the beginning of this paper. In many places, Lucretius traces the growth of religion to fear springing from ignorance. In Book V, he asks what causes have spread worship of the gods and filled towns with altars. One reason he finds in the regular succession of the seasons (compare "yesterday was but as today, and tomorrow will tread the same footsteps of his foregoers, so as it is manifest enough that all things follow but the course of their own nature, saving only Man") and of the celestial phenomena, due to causes of which men were ignorant.[1] There follows immediately the passage which parallels very exactly Cecropia's reference to the thunder, thought to be the voice of angry gods because of human ignorance.[2] The parallel is so close as to be almost a paraphrase. Pamela's statement: "You saie because we know not the causes of things, therefore feare was the mother of superstition," is almost a paraphrase of Lucretius' idea that fear holds in check all mortals because they see many phenomena in earth and heaven the causes of which they cannot discover.[3] Even the reference to religious superstition as being fit to frighten children is suggested by several passages in the Latin poem.[4] Finally,

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[1] Book V, l. 1160. The quotation from Sidney is at p. 406 of the edition by Feuillerat.

[2] *Ibid.*, ll. 1217 ff.

[3] Book I, ll. 147 ff.

[4] For example Book II, ll. 60 ff.; III, ll. 85 ff.

Cecropia's insistence that nature follows an equable course while only man tortures himself into loss of his natural felicity by these creatures of his imagination, represents just such a summary of Lucretius' whole position as would occur to a hostile critic eager to defend religion against its adversary.

IV

With Pamela's reply, we are brought face to face with the true problem. Lucretius argues that things did not come of nothing (Book I, ll. 160 ff.) or by design (Book I, ll. 1020 ff., and V, 420 ff.). He defines in several places the "first beginnings" (*rerum primordia*), or "substances" (*materies*), or "seeds of things" (*semina rerum*) that "fell into arrangements" and so brought, by chance, the universe into being.[1] This Sidney replies to at great length. It is quite impossible to give the parallels in the space at my disposal. He says, in effect, that if the world is eternal, "as you imply," eternity and chance are insufferable. If it had a beginning, it is equally absurd to think that chance could make all things of nothing. Even the details of Lucretius' atomic theory appear in Sidney, who speaks of the doctrine of "substances" (*materies*) and subjects it to criticism. If there were substances, he says, which by chance met to make up the world, these substances were from ever and so eternal, and eternal causes cannot bring forth chanceable effects. And the argument of Lucretius that the heavy substances would have fallen downward through the empty void, and light substances would have mounted upward indefinitely, had it not been for the fact that at quite uncertain times and uncertain spots they pushed themselves a little from their course and so clung together to form the world (Book II, ll. 196 ff.), Sidney rightly recognizes as the theory which he must overthrow. This passage is at the heart of the whole system of Lucretius, and that Sidney has it in mind is indicated by his sentence beginning: "If nothing but Chaunce had glewed these pieces of this All, the heavie partes would have gone infinitely downeward, the light infinitely upwarde, and so never have mett to have made up this goodlie bodie." This sentence introduces a passionate attack on the entire doctrine of chance.

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[1] See Book I, ll. 1020 ff.; II, ll. 80 ff.; V, ll. 185 ff.

If there were space for arranging some of this material in parallel columns, I think we should find strong presumptive evidence for holding that Sidney wrote this chapter with the Latin poem before him or freshly in his memory. In any case, his chapter is remarkable for its recognition of the chief points in the Lucretian philosophy and for its direct reply to the atomic theory. It is this last point that is the most interesting. The doctrine of "substances" was not so easily grasped by men of Sidney's circle as the more general implications of the philosophy. That Sidney recognized its importance is another proof of his intellectual curiosity, and helps us to understand why a man like Bruno, himself deeply interested in the problem of the origin of the universe and deeply versed in Lucretius, should have dedicated to the young Englishman a number of his philosophical treatises.

SPENSER APOCRYPHA

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The list of Spenser apocrypha can be stretched to some dozen items, excluding therefrom obvious imitations of Spenser of later date. Several of these items are interesting in themselves, especially the translation of the *Axiochus*, the MS Dialogue on Ireland in which the names of Spenser's two sons are used as those of the interlocutors, and the little Latin chronicle by "E. S." entitled *De Rebus Gestis Britanniae.* The *Axiochus* has a curious history, which I will not go into here. The Dialogue is a very puzzling document, having obvious points of connection with Spenser, but a poor thing as a literary composition, and, I should say, offhand but confidently, not from Spenser's pen. The Latin chronicle I propose to describe and discuss briefly in the following pages.[1]

Almost everything in the Elizabethan period signed "W. S." has been claimed for Shakespeare at one time or another. As attention is more and more directed to the study of Spenser, we shall probably see a similar procedure in his case. Luckily or unluckily, the signature "E. S." seems to be of comparatively rare occurrence in Elizabethan times.

The little book of English chronicles by "E. S.," which is described below, is catalogued under Spenser's name in Sayle's *Catalogue of Early English Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge.* Mr. Francis J. H. Jenkinson, the librarian, states: "The attribution of this little book to Edmund Spenser rests on the evidence of the book itself, which seems to be almost conclusive."

Internal evidence is seldom conclusive, as I have found in this case. There is a certain amount of antecedent probability in the attribution to Spenser. There were very few other writers at the time with his initials.[1] The author was obviously a university man. Spenser was deeply interested in antiquities and in the matter of the chronicles. His learning fitted him for the task, and the work might well have been written[2] either as a college exercise or in the years immediately after his leaving college, about which we have so little definite knowledge. Unfortunately, we lack sufficient specimens of Spenser's Latin prose style to warrant a comparison with the style of this book. It is written in a direct, matter-of-fact and prosaic mood, and little suggests the legend-lover of the *Faerie Queene.* But in writing prose Spenser adopted the prose mood. The style of the *View of Ireland* is nervous, ordered, direct, beyond that of most Elizabethan writers of prose.

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[1] Professor J. M. Manly first directed my attention to this volume. I am indebted to Dr. Pierce Butler, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, for suggestions and for assistance in several parts of this paper.

"E. S." has a trick of citing Greek words (transliterated), as 7*b:* "quem Graeci ab mergendo *Baptismum* dicunt"; 18*a:* "monarchiam Graeci vocant"; cf. 39*a*. So, once or twice, Spenser. See *View of Ireland* (Grosart's ed., p. 91): "the Greek *Scoto,* that is, darkness."

That our author begins with Brutus and treats him as a historical figure,[3] while Spenser raised historic doubts about him,[4] is of little significance. Spenser's skepticism was very probably a development of later date.

That the printer-publisher was Henry Bynneman fits in very well with the theory of Spenser's authorship. Bynneman was the publisher of the *Theatre of Wordlings*, the *Spenser-Harvey Letters,* and of some four others of Harvey's works. He died in 1583. He was thus associated with the Spenser-Harvey circle from 1569 until his death, and if the book were an academic production of Spenser's, perhaps written with the encouragement of Harvey, he would naturally be chosen as its publisher. Possibly the young Spenser, who was then trying his hand in many veins, wrote it at Bynneman's suggestion. Bynneman was given to the publishing of chronicles and of books in Latin.

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[1] If Spenser's authorship is to be rejected, probably the next best guess would be Sir Edwin Sandys (1561–1629), Fellow at Oxford 1580, and the author of *Europae Speculum,* 1599.

[2] Its date is between 1572 and 1583. See below.

[3] Cf. however 3*b*–4*a:* "But since this ancient history of Britain seems in part obscure through the lapse of time and lack of record and in part by the nature of the events themselves unworthy of literary preservation, we shall omit," etc. (transl. by Dr. Butler).

[4] *View of Ireland* (Grosart, p. 65): "But the Irish do herein no otherwise than our vain Englishmen do in the *Tale of Brutus,* whom they devise to have first conquered and inhabited this land, it being as impossible to prove that there was ever any such Brutus of Albion or England as it is that there was any such Cathelus of Spain." In the *Faerie Queene,* of course, the question is not raised. Brutus and the other legends are proper *materia poetica.*

On the other hand, there stands the lack of any positive evidence that the E. S. of this title-page was Edmund Spenser. Indeed, although the book was known in its day and went through later editions and although after the publication of the *Faerie Queene* everything from the poet's pen was eagerly sought for, there is no contemporary attribution of it to him. The nature of the work, however, its vehicle of Latin prose, and the early date of its publication (*ca.* 1582), might account for this.

There remains the difficulty of its dedication "Ad Henricum Broncarem, Armigerum." Who was this Henry (or Sir Henry) Brouncker and what connection could Spenser have had with him? The question remains to be studied. We cannot say that he was not of Spenser's circle. The more one investigates the details of Spenser's life the farther one traces the ramifications of his friendships. The Brounckers appear to have been a prominent family of the nobility and gentry. The *Dictionary of National Biography* notices only two of this name, both viscounts, dating 1620–84, and died 1688. Various other Brounckers, and Henry Brounckers, appear in other records. The family apparently was of Wiltshire.[1] From these records, it appears that the Henry Brouncker, of Spenser's time, also was an office-holder in Ireland. Possibly a friendship begun in England may have been continued in Ireland.

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[1] See *Wiltshire Archaeol. Society Publications*, 3d ser., III, 242; *Wiltshire Archaeol. Mag.*, XXVII (1894), 169–70 (a Henry Bronker of 1 Edward VI); XXXIV (1906), 88 (a Henry Brouncker in 1552); *Hist. MSS Com., Salisbury MSS.*, IV, 624, etc. (letters from H. B.); *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, Edw. VI–James I*, II, 357, 361, 363; III, 508 (Henry Brouncker "surveyor of issues lost," 1594); VI, 208 (Sir Henry Broncker appointed "commissioner" in 1602), 299 (Lord Brouncker, 1603); VII, 476; J. G. White, *Hist. and Topog. Notes*, p. 264 (Raymond Fitzgerald "was executed for treason by Sir Henry Brouncker in the reign of Queen Elizabeth"); *Liber Munerum Pub. Hib.*, Part II, p. 184 (Sir Henry Brounker, president of the Council of Munster, 1603 ff.). I owe several of these references to Miss Durkee, of the Newberry Library.

The title-page is as follows:

> De / Rebus Gestis / Britanniae Com- / mentarioli / Tres. / *Ad Ornatissimum Virum*[1] M. Henricum / Broncarem *Armigerum. / E. S.* / [Sir Christopher Hatton's crest] Londini / Ex Officina Typographica Henrici / Binneman. / *Cum Serenissima Regia Maiestatis Priuilegio.*

It is a small volume (12mo), $1\frac{7}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with occasional marginal dates.

The date may be fixed between 1572 and 1583. Bynneman was printing in London 1566–83.[2] The last event referred to in the book is the Rebellion in the North of 1569–70, and there is probable reference on the last page to the death ("supplicio") of the Duke of Northumberland August 22, 1572. *Circa* 1582 may be conjectured as the probable date of publication, and *circa* 1573 as that of the date of composition. There appears to be no entry of it in the Stationers Register, possibly because it was issued "cum privilegio."[3]

As a compendium of English history, the book seems to have enjoyed a sort of vogue. Three other editions are on record:[4]

1. At Hamburg, Apud. Theodosium Wolderum, 1598, 8vo. 132 pp.
2. Historia Britannica, Hoc est, De rebus gestis Britanniae seu Angliae Commentarioli tres. . . . . Quibus accesservnt praeter generalem Angliae descriptionem, Marginalia & Index rerum copiosus. Ambergae: typis Iohannis Schonfield. 1603. 12mo.
   Sig. A 4–H 5 is a reprint of Bynneman's edition.
3. At Oxford. Excudebat Leonard Lichfield, Impensis Matthiae Hunt. 1640. 12mo. A reprint of the 1603 edition, omitting some of the foreign additions, and adding a Latin address to the reader, signed M. H.[5]

The three books cover: Liber I, from Brutus to the Saxons (folios 2*a*–15*a*); Liber II, the Saxons to the Norman Conquest (folios 16*a*–20*b*); Liber III, William the Conqueror to Elizabeth (folios 21*a*–56*a*).

The first book is naturally the most interesting in relation to the question of Spenser's authorship. So far as my examination goes, the evidence is inconclusive. Naturally many of the legendary stories are omitted from the compact confines of a compendium of this sort with a distinct prose purpose which the poet later utilizes in the leisurely poetical progress of the Briton moniments of *Faerie Queene,* II, x, and III, iii. Naturally, also, there is occasional divergence in the stories in common. But a closer study may reveal significance and probable evidence in these variations.

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[1] Spenser uses the same form of address preceding his Latin verses to Harvey, 1580.

[2] Cf. Henry R. Plomer, in *The Library*, July, 1908, on Bynneman.

[3] There are copies in the British Museum, the University Library, Cambridge, the Newberry Library, Chicago, and probably elsewhere.

[4] Cf. *Brit. Mus.*, *Cat. of Printed Books*, 1895, p. 44, "S—Sacerdote."

[5] Details as to these editions supplied by Mr. H. R. Plomer.

A running and highly condensed account of the contents of this book may suggest the lines of such a study. I omit minor names and incidents.

"Brutus Troianus," his arrival in Britain; founds Troynovant [Londinum]; reigns twenty-four years. Brutus succeeded by his son Locrine in the middle part [Anglia], Albanact in the northern part [Scotia], and Cambrus in the west [Wales]. Locrine wars upon the Scythians or Huns; marries Gwendolen. Estrild and Sabrina [3*a*], Madan's reign and his death by wolves. Mempritius a degenerate. Ebrancus, his twenty-one wives and fifty children. Bladud introduces Greek arts and disciplines and founds a "scholam seu Academiam" at Stamford.[1] Rivallus. Ferrex and Porrex and end of the line of Brutus. The Ferrex and Porrex passage may be quoted as a specimen:

"Longo satis intervallo Ferrex & Porrex fratres unā remp. Britannorum partitis temporibus administrabant. Hos inter, ut fit, cooritur de potentatu dissentio, atque re ad arma vocata, longius ab iis fraternum nomen abest, alterumq*ue* alter hostium in numero habet. In illa contentione Ferrex ā fratre interficitur. Ea re mater adolescentum incitata, ut iis conclusa sit fabula, furere, &, quo pia videatur, impium exemplum alterius fratris filii sui sanguine expiare contendere. Nullam igitur moram mulier ad negotium intulit, Porrigemq*ue* nihil sibi ā matre metuentem, in suo lectulo trucidavit. Quo scelere etiam, ut nihil deese fato videretur, stirps generis & seminis Bruti, postquam imperium in hac insula 616 annis repetetis atq*ue* enumeratis temporibus obtinuisset, extincta est."

Thereafter civil wars. Dunnuallus reunites a single kingdom. His sons Belinus and Brennus. Gurgustus. Foreign incursions. Spain, Ireland colonized [5*b*]. Morindus. Elidure. Elia. Ludus. Caesar's invasions [6*b*]. Guiderius. Arviragus. Christianity introduced 189 A.D. Lucius. Carassus. The Scotch wall. Asclepiodatus. Constantius. Vortiger. Hengist. Arthur [14*a*]; after his death the Britons driven into Cambria [Wales]. The Seven Saxon kingdoms: "Anglia," 589 A.D.

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[1] Is mention of the foundation of the school at Stamford to be found in any of the other English chronicles? Was E. S. especially interested in it? Ralph Church in his edition of Spenser claims that Spenser visited Northamptonshire (where Stamford is).

The second book concerns us less. The account (16*b*) of the foundation of Cambridge University, 636 A.D., may be significant if written by a graduate or student therein. "E. S." gives it priority in date to Oxford, whose foundation he puts in 872 A.D. (17*a*).

Book III is condensed chronicles. Little of the period covered figures prominently in Spenser's poetry. The building of the Tower of London (23*a*) may have been a subject to interest one born almost under its shadow. Cambridge is mentioned again at 23*b*, in connection with the sojourn there of Henry I. The author's interest seems to center on the reigns of Edward III and Henry VIII. To each he gives nine pages out of his scanty one hundred and twelve in all. His religious sympathies are revealed in his account of the introduction under Bloody Mary of "pontificias caeremonias superstitionem que . . . . contra voluntatem & testamentum patris." The final two pages on the reign of Elizabeth merely mention her restoration of true religion, reform of the coinage, the case of one More who pretended to be Christ, the loss of Newport, the plague of such severity "ut Londini, 8 minus mensium spatio, 23660 homines consumpti perierint," and the Rebellion of Northumberland and Westmoreland in the North. The concluding paragraph serves the purpose of a preface and of the author's apology:

> Habes tandem, Ornatissime Broncar, usque ad memoriam nostram, de rebus gestis Britanniae commentariolos meos: quos his paucis proximis diebus[1] non ut perficerem, aut illustrarem ipse, sed ut aliorum excitarem studia, qui id optime facere possunt, informavi. Dolendum enim est historiam hanc, quae tot, tantas, & tam praeclaras res contineat, ita jacere. Nam cùm non ferenda Anglicanorum turba scriptorum videatur, tùm nescio quid in Polidoro desidero. Non quo tamen huic nihil deesse libello putem, eò dico: cui nihil adesse praeter orationis, si fortè, quod secutus sum, lumen prae me fero: caetera enim, uti dixi, consultò praetermisi, atque ad eos, qui historiam harum rerum, aut paullo plenius, si placet, commentarium aggresiuri sunt, religavi. Haec interim alicui, dum illa venient, usui esse possunt, & tùm fortasse poterint.

I leave to others the investigation of the author's relation to Polydore Vergil and the crowd of English writers.

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[1] The phrase suggests a space of time between the writing and the last events narrated.

ANOTHER PRINCIPLE OF ELIZABETHAN STAGING

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Scholars are fairly well agreed as to the use of the rear stage of the Elizabethan theater: for practically all discoveries; for scenes using such settings as a shop, study, tent, arbor, cave, cell, tomb—which were either different ways of arranging the rear stage itself or structures placed upon it; for such formal scenes as parliaments, senates, councils, trials before a bench of judges; for scenes requiring three doors—not necessarily for those using merely three entrances; for parts of a scene supposed to be in a room, tent, or the like, when the front stage is the street or space in front of it; and for the gate of a castle or city or when in other ways the entrance to the balcony is emphasized. Some years ago, in discussing these uses ("William Percy and His Plays," *Modern Philology*, October, 1914), I suggested that the Elizabethan theater had the custom of holding the rear stage for recurring scenes with properties, even though it led to the placing of some properties in intervening scenes on the front stage. Here I wish to present the evidence in support of this suggestion limiting my field, as before, to the plays given at the first Globe theater and at the first Fortune theater, since we know, from the contract for erecting the latter, that these two playhouses were alike in all important stage arrangements. Such a limitation makes possible greater precision and certainty of statement; it is easy enough to imagine methods of staging individual plays, but when a plan, precisely indicated by the directions of one play, can be shown to suit all the plays produced in the same circumstances, such an explanation certainly gains in probability and significance.

The idea that a rear stage-setting once arranged was left undisturbed until no longer required is definitely suggested by the explicit directions of *The Honest Whore*, Part I. Because this play was acted at the Fortune in the same year that it was published, and because its text is not far removed from that of the performance, as appears from the direction, "Enter Towne [an actor] like a Sweeper" (V, 2), its evidence is notably trustworthy. The recurring setting in this play is that of a shop in which "fine hollands, fine cambrics, fine lawns" are displayed for sale (I, 5; II, 1; III, 1; IV, 3). The significant fact is that properties in intervening scenes are shown by the directions to have been brought in: II, 1, a stool (the text shows more were brought later) and toilet articles; III, 3: "Enter Bellafront with lute, pen, ink, and paper being placed before her"; IV, 1: "Enter a Servant, setting out a table, on which he places a skull, a picture, a book, and a taper." But before and after the shop scenes, the rear stage is used in I, 3 for the discovery of a woman on a couch or bier—before the curtain there was perhaps a table; and in V, 2 for the disclosure of insane people on exhibition. In this play, then, it does seem that the authors intentionally provided for properties on the front stage to avoid interference with the recurring rear stage-setting.

Can this principle be applied more widely? Certainly the reason is sufficiently general—the desire to avoid labor, delay, and the noise of scene-shifting. Of course, it does not explain why all properties on the front stage were placed there. Banquets, for instance, were commonly not "discovered" but "served in," perhaps for the processional effect. The stocks in which Kent was placed in *King Lear* (II, 2) were brought in for no apparent necessity of staging; perhaps it was to get him out on the front stage nearer to the audience. The presence of such properties on the front stage needs thus to be otherwise explained, but this principle of leaving undisturbed a recurring rear stage-setting by placing interfering properties on the front stage seems illustrated in a fair number of the plays given by the Lord Chamberlain-King's company:[1]

The Captain: 1613, 1647: A room, entrance to which suggests (III, 4; IV, 4) that it was on the rear stage: I, 3; III, 4; IV, 4, 5. On the front stage: seats, III, 3.

Catiline: 1611, 1611: Senate: IV, 2; V, 4, 6. On the front stage: seats, IV, 4.

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[1] The first date is that commonly assigned to the first performance; the second is the date of publication. In general, front stage properties of only intervening scenes are mentioned.

Coriolanus: 1609, 1623: Gates to Corioli: I, 4, 7. Or the curtains may have remained open, scenes 4–9. On the front stage, two stools, I, 3.

Cymbeline: 1607, 1623: Before a cave: III, 3, 6; IV, 2 and perhaps 4. Dr. Forman described this cave as in a wood.

The Devil's Charter: 1606, published as given at court and afterward revised by the author, 1607. These circumstances give its evidence less weight, but it can be arranged for a public stage, especially if IV, 4, is disregarded, which McKerrow says is an excrescence on the plot and at variance with the rest of the play. Study: I, 4; IV, 1; V, 4, 6. On the front stage: in the prologue, one, perhaps two, tents and a chair; chair brought in, I, 5; throne before walls, II, 1; post, III, 4; table brought in, IV, 3; tent, IV, 4; chair, bed, IV, 5; a cupboard of plate brought in and "enter a table spread," V, 4, the scene ending in the study; chair and table, V, 6.

The Merchant of Venice: 1594, 1600: Caskets, I, 2; II, 7, 9; III, 2.

The Revenger's Tragedy: 1606–7, 1607: The "unsunned lodge," III, 4; V, 1.

The Tempest: 1610–11, 1623: In or before the cell, I, 2; III, 1; IV, 1; V, 1. In III, 3, a banquet is brought in and the table later removed.

Troilus and Cressida: 1601–2, 1609: Before the tent of Achilles, II, 3; III, 3; V, 1; of Calchas, V, 2. Act III, 2, has a line "here i' the orchard." Perhaps this play does not illustrate a recurring rear stage scene, since the interior of the tents need not be seen. Possibly only the closed curtains of the rear stage were employed.

Plays of the Lord Admiral's company also show recurring settings, but, except for *The Honest Whore*, raise certain questions. *Patient Grissel* (1598, 1602) has so simple a recurring property that it may be thought as insignificant as the molehill of *Henry VI*, Part III, I, 4; II, 5. In *Patient Grissel*, it is a hat, gown, and pitcher hanging on the wall in II, 2, and III, 1; and taken down in IV, 1. The same scene, without the hat, gown, and pitcher, occurs perhaps in I, 1, and V, 2. If these scenes were on the rear stage, then the growing osiers, cut in III, 2, were probably on the front stage. In IV, 2, a cradle, and in IV, 3, many stools are brought and perhaps a table.

Questions raised by the other plays, either of the Chamberlain's or the Admiral's company, are not very serious ones. Resting as it does on convenience, the principle of placing recurring settings on the rear stage is sometimes departed from when to do so is easier than to observe it. Thus in *Sejanus* (King's, 1603, 1605) the senate sits in III, 1, and in V, 10, but in V, 4, a statue and an altar were used on the rear stage. It should be noted that this play was rewritten before publication and is therefore of uncertain value as to staging, but in any case to hold the rear stage unused through so much of the play would hardly be expected. Similarly, *The Brazen Age,* a play Mr. W. W. Greg identifies with 1, 2 *Hercules,* which was given by the Admiral's company in 1595–96, and for which properties were bought in December, 1601, has an altar in I, 3 (p. 183) and in V, 3 (p. 247). Intervening are several different settings probably used on the rear stage. Exceptions of this kind, however, prove little against the general principle.

More important, therefore, are the questions concerned with staging such plays as *The Spanish Tragedy, Faustus,* and *Volpone. The Spanish Tragedy,* first produced about 1586, was revived in 1597, and again with additions by Jonson in 1602. Greg questions whether the quarto of 1602 gives these additions as most scholars have supposed, but if it is the version given at the Fortune, there was the recurring setting of the arbor or bower, II, 4; III, 12*a;* and IV, 2. Besides the orchard in which the arbor stood and seats for Revenge and the ghost of Andrea, there were on the front stage the throne of I, 3, and perhaps III, 1; the banquet, I, 5; the stake, III, 1; and the ladder from which Pedringano was "turned off" in III, 6. Probably the curtain which hid Horatio's body from the court in the gallery was also "knocked up" on the front stage.

In *Doctor Faustus,* first given, perhaps, in 1588 and provided with additions in 1602 which are supposed to be printed in the quarto of 1616, the recurring setting is the study of Faustus, which is surely used in scenes 1 and 5, and perhaps in scenes 11 and 14 (I use Neilson's numbering, though he prints from the quarto of 1604). As for the front stage, I see no reason for placing scene 3 in a grove as Neilson does, but there is a grove in which soldiers conceal themselves in a scene added after scene 10; there is a banquet and "St. Peter's chair," to which the Pope mounts from the back of Bruno, in scene 7; and this "chair" probably served as well for the throne of the emperor, mentioned in the 1616 directions of scene 10. The grove scene also uses three doors, so that it is possible that the rear stage was cleared for it, and the rear door exposed. The stage could then have been reset as the study during the first fifty lines of the next scene, before Faustus sits in his chair and sleeps. No other difficulty arises except that in the last scene of the 1616 version there is "Musicke while the Throne descends" and "Hell is discouered." The descending throne I shall return to later. "Hell" may have been merely a trapdoor from which rose smoke and light, but it is described with some detail in the text and may have been spectacularly represented on the rear stage, in which case this was not reset as the study after scene 10. The study setting is not necessarily used after that scene.

Volpone, acted by the King's men in 1605 and published in 1607, offers apparently two series of recurring settings which interfere with each other. The one series is that of the trial scenes, IV, 4–6; V, 10, 12. Act V, scene 11, is almost the best example of an interpolated front stage scene one can find. Volpone, while the Avocatori read over his papers, is left alone on the front stage; after this short scene of twenty-two lines, the trial is resumed. But it also seems certain that Volpone's room with its couch, treasure, etc., must be on the rear stage, and this setting is used in I, 1–5; III, 3–9; and V, 1–3. It is significant, however, that in the last group of scenes, which are the ones which break into the other series, Volpone's couch is not shown and Volpone "peeps from behind a traverse." On the front stage, then, there would be in this scene—and they are, we may note, precisely arranged for in the text (V, 2, 81)—a chair, perhaps a table, and a chest of treasure. On the front stage, too, would be exhibited the tortoise shell of Sir Politic (V, 4), as well as the platform erected in II, 1–3. Unusual as these last properties may be, they raise no difficulties of staging, and thus *Volpone*, which seems at first to offer a violation of the principle of recurring properties, really is an especially interesting illustration of it.

What, then, does it all come to? Here are some fifteen plays from a very limited possible number, in which the principle that a rear stage setting, once arranged, should be left undisturbed until it was no longer needed, never contradicts the definite stage directions, and in a great many cases makes clear why certain properties were brought in instead of "discovered." Except for one or two easily accounted for exceptions, it does not come into conflict with any of the uses I have suggested for the rear stage. Plays at court sometimes may seem to require two rear stages, as, for instance, *The Devil's Charter*, with its tents and study; but at court the rear stage must have been represented by a special structure, and there might as well have been two or three as one. Thus at court the principle of simultaneous setting was more obviously illustrated than on the public stage. If the court versions were repeated in the theater—and this might well be popular—the rear stage could take the place of one of the structures, as I have suggested for the study in *The Devil's Charter:* and the tent, if there was one, would be erected on the front stage as was Richard's in *Richard III*, V, 3. This would only make more clear what was always true, that the fundamental conception of the Elizabethan stage was medieval, easily admitting simultaneous settings.

For that is what this principle of recurring settings surely confirms. It explains but has no relation to the discredited "alternation" theory, which, however, Mr. R. Compton Rhodes in *The Stagery of Shakespeare*, 1922, a book singularly neglectful of American research, shows an inclination to revive. That theory, based on modern conceptions, saw every scene with properties as a rear stage scene, but it proved untenable as soon as any general application was attempted. The plays here cited show that the principle of recurring settings places on the front stage seats, tables, the ladder used in executions, and a few less common properties. To these nobody will now probably object, though a few years ago even the two stools of *Coriolanus*, I, 3, were considered clear indications of a rear stage scene.

But the "trees" and the throne or "state" are also shown to have been sometimes placed on the front stage. It is not necessary to suppose that they were fixtures there, though the "trees" are so casually and so frequently called for despite their almost certain unwieldiness that it does seem they must always have been at hand. Thus in *King Lear*, V, 2, it was quite unnecessary for Edgar to tell his father, "Take the shadow of this tree For your good host," and such instances are common. If the "trees" were always on the stage, they surely could not have been placed on the rear stage, and its low ceiling could have allowed nothing more than shrubs. Possibly for the orchard of *The Spanish Tragedy* or the woods of *Cymbeline*, small "trees" may have been placed in the rear stage beside the arbor or cave or cell, which would assume that these were structures and not arrangements of the stage itself. But the tree climbed in *The Thracian Wonder* (1598, 1661; II, 2) could not have stood on the rear stage, for lack of height. Moreover, the preceding scene shows a council, usually set on the rear stage, and the following scene has a table and tapers for a shrine. Old copies have the direction "Pythia speaks in the music room behind the curtain," which Hazlitt interprets as "above." At least it does not sound as if she were on the rear stage. If the tree could have stood on the rear stage, there would have been in such a sequence of scenes inevitable and vexatious delays while the stage was reset, and there are a great many such instances. It seems to me, therefore, that sometimes, at least, "trees" did stand on the front stage, and that, indeed, they usually stood there; hence it is no evidence against the principle of recurring properties that it necessitates this position for them.

And similarly with the throne. Mr. W. J. Lawrence in the *Texas Review*, January, 1918, argues at some length that it was usually placed on the rear stage. If so, there must have been many delays occasioned by removing it and rearranging the stage, yet the avoidance of these delays is the main reason for making any plan of Elizabethan staging at all. An example of an instance where such a delay would occur is the added scene to *Doctor Faustus* where soldiers lie in ambush in a wood for Faustus and three doors are used; the preceding scene uses a throne. What also is to be done with the throne almost certainly used in *Hamlet* from which the king watches the "play" with its use of the arbor (Q_1), and therefore of the rear stage? Mr. Lawrence tries to explain away the familiar reference to the throne in *The Gull's Hornbook*, in which the gallant is told to plant himself "on the very Rushes where the Commedy is to dance, yea and under the state of Cambises himself." But surely the gallant was not to seat himself on the rear stage, where he could neither see nor be seen most of the time. A passage a little farther on supports this objection, for he is directed "to creepe from behind the Arras with [his] *Tripos* or three-footed stoole in one hand and a teston mounted betweene a fore-finger and a thumbe in the other." Is it too fanciful to think that this throne, surely with its dais and its canopy a cumbersome affair, when not in use, was swung up for storage in the hut above the stage? At least Henslowe paid £7, 2*s*. in June, 1595, for constructing one in the "heavens," and for other carpenter work (*Henslowe's Diary*, 4, Greg ed.), and Jonson in the prologue to *Every Man Out of His Humor* ridicules plays in which a "creaking throne comes down the boys to please," that is, as part of the action as in *Doctor Faustus*, 1616, Act V. How could the throne be lowered from the hut through the balcony to the rear stage? Nothing would interfere with its descent to the front stage, and once there it would be easier to leave it than to push it back behind the curtains, especially if the floor of the rear stage, was as seems not improbable, raised a little. Mr. Lawrence is quite right in saying that there is nothing to show that the throne stood permanently on the stage; it may even have been removed in an intermission of a play. Finally, it may be worth noticing that we have no directions for putting a real throne in place—the one prepared in *Satiromastix* and mentioned by Lawrence is only a makeshift—and very few discoveries of persons on it.

There is no very forceful reason for doubting the truth of this principle that recurring settings were held undisturbed on the rear stage, except that it necessitates placing "trees" and the throne on the front stage, and this objection owes most of its weight to our purely modern aversion to properties there. *The Honest Whore* is enough in itself to show that the Elizabethans did not share in this feeling. The principle seems to me, therefore, worthy of consideration, especially since it harmonizes so easily with the suggested uses of the rear stage. In conjunction with those uses and with the various survivals of medieval customs which I have elsewhere described and pointed out in the plays, it provides a fairly comprehensive and consistent explanation of the staging of the drama presented at the Globe and the Fortune during the period of Shakespeare.

SHAKESPEARE AS A WRITER OF EPITAPHS

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Shakespeare is well enough known as a writer of comedies, histories, and tragedies, of amorous poems in the jeweled style, of sonnets, and of songs; one hardly thinks of him as a writer of epitaphs. Yet Jonson and other poets of the day exercised their pens in devising monumental inscriptions to their "peace-parted" contemporaries, and Shakespeare may occasionally have done likewise. In early tradition, at least, he enjoyed no little fame as a maker of tomb verses; and, though supporting evidence naturally is for the most part either weak or entirely lacking, mere tradition is of interest when it concerns our greatest literary genius. I have therefore thought it worth while to assemble all that relates to Shakespeare in this curious capacity.

And first, as giving some indication of his style in sepulchral composition, we may examine the epitaphs embodied in his plays. We call to mind at once the lines inscribed on the monument erected to Marina (*Pericles*, IV, iv, 34–43) beginning:

The fairest, sweet'st and best lies here,
Who wither'd in her spring of year:
She was of Tyrus the king's daughter,
On whom foul Death hath made this slaughter.

Pericles, however, was mainly the work of another playwright, probably George Wilkins, and it is very doubtful whether Shakespeare can be held responsible for the fictitious epitaph of the heroine. Moreover, the lines, in their painful effort at metrical regularity, and their straining for rhyme, are peculiarly characteristic of Wilkins.[1]

It is more likely that Shakespeare composed, if not both, at least one of the epitaphs carved on the gravestone of Timon of Athens:

Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft:
Seek not my name: a plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!

Here lie, I, Timon, who, alive, all living men did hate:
Pass by, and curse thy fill; but pass, and stay not here thy gait.

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[1] On this point see H. Dugdale Sykes, *Sidelights on Shakespeare*, 1919, p. 156.

Save when read in character, neither of these Timon epitaphs can be regarded as a very creditable performance; yet they are not inferior specimens of the then popular "sepulchral epigram," and are perhaps no worse than the verses carved on the dramatist's own gravestone, which early tradition unanimously assigns to the master himself:

Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbear
To dig the dust encloased here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones;
And curst be he that moves my bones.

Dowdall, in 1693, quotes the church clerk to the effect that these lines were written by Shakespeare "himself, a little before his death"; and another writer, gathering his information at Stratford in 1694, states that they "were ordered to be cut by Mr. Shakespeare" upon his tomb. The verses, however rude, have a clear meaning, vigorously expressed; and even their deficiency in literary merit can be explained. As William Hall, a graduate of Oxford who visited Stratford near the close of the seventeenth century, wrote to Edward Thwaites, later Regius Professor of Greek and Whyte Professor of moral philosophy at Oxford:

> The little learning these verses contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them; and having to do with clarks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacities.

That the charnel-house at Stratford was unusually repulsive,

O'er-cover'd quite with dead men's rattling bones,
With reeky shanks, and yellow chapless skulls,[1]

we know from various sources. In *Notes of a Visit to Stratford,* 1777, printed in Defoe's *Tour,* 1778, appears the statement: "At the side of the chancel is a charnel-house, almost filled with human bones, skulls, etc."; and Ireland declared in 1795 that it contained "the largest assemblage of human bones" he had ever seen. At Stratford, as elsewhere, the constant interment of new bodies in the church led to the removal of the remains of persons formerly buried there, the bones being hurled "like loggats" into the adjacent charnel. Shakespeare's revulsion at the custom, clearly expressed in *Hamlet,*[1] was shared by others; for example, by Sir John Birkenhead, who ordered that his body should be buried not in the building but in the yard: "his reason was because, he said, they removed the bodies out of the church."[2] By means of the pathetic appeals, "Good friend, for Jesus' sake," and "Blest be the man," and of the final vigorous malediction—

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[1] So Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet,* IV, i, 82–83, describes a charnel-house, doubtless from early recollection of the one in Stratford.

> Curst be he that moves my bones,

the dramatist was seeking to prevent the sextons from "knaving him"[3] out of his grave. In this effort he was successful. Dowdall, who visited Stratford in 1693, quotes the church clerk, said to be then more than eighty years of age, as declaring that "not one" of the sextons, "for fear of the curse above-said, dare touch his gravestone," even though "his wife and daughters did earnestly desire to be laid in the same grave with him." Other persons interred near Shakespeare suffered, we know, the very fate he was trying to avoid; for instance, his own daughter, Susanna, was dug up in 1707, and her bones thrown into the charnel to make room for a certain inconspicuous Mr. Watts. The poet's shrewd forethought, however, secured adequate protection for his own dust. The workmen who excavated a vault next to his grave in 1796 testified to the fact that the earth over his coffin had never been disturbed; and so, in all probability, his body, long ago peacefully compounded with clay, will rest undisturbed until this world wears out to nought.

Thus the lines were admirably adapted as a means to an end. Nor, according to the standards of the day, are they unduly rude in style. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as everyone knows who has studied the mortuary epigram, tombstone verses were not expected to display literary grace; instead they exhibited a racy style —intimate, impertinent, often jocular—which seems to have appealed to men as not inappropriate coming from sepulchres. The older graveyards of both England and America furnish abundant testimony to the taste of our ancestors in this peculiar form of verse; and John Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, cites from the churches of his day many examples, one of which will be adequate for the purpose of illustration:

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[1] Also in *Macbeth,* III, iv, 71.

[2] Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed., Andrew Clark, 1898), I, 105.

[3] Sir Thomas Browne, in *Hydriotaphia,* chap. iii, complains of the "tragical abomination" of being "knaved out of our graves"; and he asks: "Who knows the fate of his bones?"

Here lyeth, wrapt in clay,
The body of John Wray.
I have no more to say.

As a natural result of this strange taste in sepulchral inscriptions, it became a regular custom among wits at merry gatherings to devise for each other mock epitaphs. Jonson quoted to Drummond of Hawthornden, with obvious relish, the two following efforts at this form of humor:

His epitaph, by a companion written, is:
Here lies Benjamin Jonson, dead,
And hath no more wit than a goose in his head;
That as he was wont, so doth he still,
Live by his wit, and evermore will.
Another:
Here lies honest Ben,
That had not a beard on his chen.

The brevity of the second epitaph suggests that it is incomplete; Drummond, we may suspect, in reproducing a lively conversation from vague recollection, could not recall the verses either accurately or fully. Perhaps the deficiency is made good by Archdeacon Plume (quoting Bishop Hacket), in his manuscript notebook written about 1657:

Here lies Benjamin,
With little hair upon his chin,
Who while he lived was a slow thing,
And now he is dead is nothing;

or by an apparently still earlier commonplace book:

Here lies Jonson
Who was once one.
He had little hair on his chin,
His name was Benjamin.[1]

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[1] Cited by James O. Halliwell, *The Works of William Shakespeare*, I (1853), 157. According to Halliwell, the second line reads "one's sonne."

The "companion" who devised for Jonson this humorous epitaph, if we can trust an Ashmole MS of about 1650,[1] was none other than his good friend Shakespeare:

> Mr. Ben Jonson and Mr. Wm. Shakespeare, being merry at a tavern, Mr. Jonson, having begun this for his epitaph:
>
> Here lies Ben Jonson,
> That was once one,
>
> he gives it to Mr. Shakespeare to make up. He presently writes:
>
> Who while he liv'd was a slow thing,
> And now being dead, is nothing.

Since even Halliwell-Phillipps finds it "not particularly easy to appreciate the exact force" of this epitaph, and Dr. Ingleby, the editor of the *Centurie of Prayse*, agreeing, would emend "slow thing" to "show thing," obviously the verses "stand in need of a comment." Just as Shakespeare was remarkably facile with his pen, by common report never blotting out a line he had once set down, Jonson was notoriously slow at composition, a fact which subjected him to much ridicule from his contemporaries. Thus Dekker, in his bitter personal attack in *Satiromastix*, 1601, exclaims: "You nasty tortoise! You and your itchy poetry break out, like Christmas, but once a year!" And Jonson, in an "apologetical dialogue" affixed to *Poetaster*, 1601, is forced to admit the charge:

> *Polyposus:* Yes, they say you are slow,
> And scarce bring forth a play a year.
> *Author:* 'Tis true.

This failing of his was so generally known that it was commented on at the universities; one of the students in the Cambridge play *II Return from Parnassus*, 1602, sarcastically refers to Jonson as "so slow an inventor that he were better betake himself to his old trade of bricklaying."

The phrase, "once one," also troubled Halliwell-Phillipps, who, finding no sense in it, declared it corrupt, and proposed the emendation "one's son," an emendation accepted by the latest editors of *The Shakespeare Allusion-Book*, 1909. It may be worth noting, therefore, that Shakespeare uses the very same word-play in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V, i, 314–15:

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[1] XXXVIII, 181, in the Bodleian Library.

> *Demetrius:* No die, but an ace for him, for he is but one.
> *Lysander:* Less than an ace, for he is dead; he is nothing.

The disputed lines thus are not without "force," and obviously Shakespeare at times could be guilty of just such humor. Whether he is to be held responsible for this sally at the expense of his friend the reader must judge for himself.

A more famous mock epitaph attributed to Shakespeare is that supposedly written for John Combe, the rich old bachelor of Stratford, whose success in business affairs gave him, it seems, a reputation for usury. He possessed a strong personality, which must have been not unattractive, since, as we know, the dramatist developed a warm friendship for him. Several early writers represent Shakespeare as having devised for Combe a jocular epitaph glancing at his well-known shrewdness in money-lending. Rowe, in his life of the poet, 1709, gives on the whole the best general account of the tradition:

> Amongst them [the citizens of Stratford] it is a story almost still remember'd in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with Mr. Combe, an old gentleman noted thereabouts for his wealth and usury. It happen'd that in a pleasant conversation amongst their common friends, Mr. Combe told Shakespeare, in a laughing manner, that he fancy'd he intended to write his epitaph if he happen'd to out-live him, and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desir'd it might be done immediately; upon which Shakespeare gave him these four verses:
>
> Ten-in-the-hundred[1] lies here ingrav'd;
> 'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav'd.
> If any man ask, "Who lies in this tomb?"
> "Oh! ho!" quoth the Devil, "'tis my John-a-Combe."[2]
>
> But the sharpness of the satyr is said to have stung the man so severely that he never forgave it.

The last statement is obviously incorrect, for Combe remembered the poet in his will with the generous bequest of £5; and that Shakespeare continued on terms of close friendship with the family is shown by the fact that he left to Combe's nephew and heir, Thomas, his sword—apparently one of his most cherished possessions.

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[1] A cant term for usurer; Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines*, I, 246) is in error in stating the contrary, as the literature of the day abundantly proves.

[2] The name was often written thus; for instance, Adrian Quiney, in 1533–55, refers to "John Combes, sometimes written John-a-Combes"; see the *Athenaeum*, September 22, 1906.

Aubrey, collecting his information at Stratford about 1680, gives us a different version:

> One time, as he was at the tavern at Stratford super Avon, one Combe, an old rich usurer, was to be buried, he makes there this extemporary epitaph:
>
> Ten-in-the-hundred the Devil allows,
> But Combes will have twelve, he swears and vows.
> If any one ask, "Who lies in this tomb?"
> "Hoh!" quoth the Devil, "'tis my John-a-Combe."

The verses, however, were already long in print. Richard Brathwaite, in his *Remains after Death*, 1618, quotes them anonymously:

> *An Epitaph upon one John Combe, of Stratford upon Avon,*
> *a Notable Usurer, Fastened upon a Tomb that he had*
> *caused to be Built in his Life-Time*[1]
>
> Ten-in-the-hundred must lie in his grave,
> But a hundred to ten whether God will him have.
> Who then must be interr'd in this tombe?
> Oh (quoth the Devil) my John-a-Combe.

Brathwaite states that the epitaph was merely "fastened" to the tomb, presumably by some wag; yet two later writers refer to the verses as actually carved on the stone. In a curious manuscript (Lansdowne 213, folio 336), entitled "A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties, Briefly Describing the Cities . . . . therein, Observed in a Seven Weeks Journey Begun . . . . on Monday, August 11, 1634," we find the following among the notes on Stratford:[2]

> A neat monument of that famous English poet, Mr. William Shakespeare, who was born here. And one of an old gentleman, a bachelor, Mr. Combe, upon whose name the said poet did merrily fan up some witty and facetious verses, which time would not give us leave to sack up.[3]

And in a later manuscript, said to have been written between 1679 and 1685,[4] we read:

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[1] The statement that Combe "caused to be built" in the Stratford church a tomb in his honor is correct, but it was not set up until after his death; in his will, 1614, he left for this purpose the sum of £60, with orders that the tomb be erected within one year after his decease.

[2] Cited by Joseph Hunter, *New Illustrations*, 1845, I, 88.

[3] The writer, in the words "fan" and "sack up," is punning on the word "comb," a measure for grain.

[4] See the *Athenaeum*, January 10, 1901.

> In 1673, I, Robert Dobins, being at Stratford upon Avon, and visiting the church there, transcribed these two epitaphs; the first is on William Shakespeare's monument, the other is upon the monument of a noted usurer.

After correctly quoting Shakespeare's epitaph, he cites the following as from Combe's monument:

Ten-in-a-hundred here lieth engraved.
A hundred to ten his soul is not saved.
If any one ask, "Who lieth in this tomb?"
"Oh ho," quoth the Devil, "'tis my John-a-Combe."

To this he adds the comment:

> Since my being at Stratford the heirs of Mr. Combe have caused these verses to be razed, so that now they are not legible.

According to another version of the story, contained in Ashmole MS, XXXVIII, 180, written about 1630, there were two epitaphs:

On John Combe, a Covetous Rich Man, Mr. Wm. Shake-speare
Writ this at His Request, While he Was yet
Living, for his Epitaph

Who lies in this tombe?
Ho, quoth the Devil, 'tis my son, John-a-Combe.
Finis.

But Being Dead, and Making the Poor His Heirs,
he after Writes this for His Epitaph

Howe're he lived, judge not;
John Combe shall never be forgot
While poor hath memory; for he did gather
To make the poor his issue, he their father,
As record of his tilth and seeds
Did crown him in his later needes.
Finis W. Shak.

It is true that upon his death in 1614 Combe left generous bequests to the poor: "Six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence to buy ten gowns for ten poor people within the borough of Stratford; and one hundred pounds to be lent unto fifteen poor tradesmen of the same borough from three years to three years, changing parties every third year, at the rate of fifty shillings per annum, the which increase he appointed to be distributed toward the relief of the almspeople there; more, he gave to the poor of Stratford twenty pounds."[1]

A still later tradition represents Shakespeare as also composing an epitaph for John Combe's brother, Thomas. Francis Peck, in *New Memories of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*, 1740, writes:

> Everybody knows Shakespeare's epitaph for John-a-Combe; and I am told he afterwards wrote another for Tom-a-Combe, alias Thin-beard, brother of the said John,[2] and that it was never yet printed:

Thin in beard, and thick in purse,
Never man beloved worse;
He went to th' grave with many a curse;
The Devil and he had both one nurse.

And Halliwell-Phillipps, it may be added, states that "in the last century there was a traditionary tale current at Stratford, which included the verses on John and Thomas."[3]

The cumulative evidence of all these traditions is impressive. And since Shakespeare is known to have entertained a lively regard for the old bachelor, it is not impossible that at some merry gathering he "fanned up" a burlesque epitaph for his friend. On the other hand, the skeptic can point out (if under the circumstances the fact be significant) that the play on words in the first two lines was conventional. George Steevens quotes Henry Parrot's *The More the Merrier*, 1608:

Ten-in-the-hundred lies under this stone,
And a hundred to ten to the Devil he's gone.

Malone refers us to Camden's *Remains*, 1614:

Here lies ten-in-the-hundred
In the ground fast ramm'd;
'Tis one hundred to ten
But his soul is damn'd.

And several other versions of the jest, later in date and not so close in phraseology, have been noted by scholars.

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[1] This summary from his will is inscribed upon his monument in the Stratford church.

[2] This Thomas Combe, brother of John, died in January, 1609, possessed of great wealth.

[3] *Life of William Shakespeare*, 1848, p. 242.

Other and less familiar epitaphs assigned to the dramatist are in a serious vein. The antiquarian, Sir William Dugdale, in his manuscript collection of monumental inscriptions from Shropshire, written in 1663, and now preserved in the College of Arms, states that the verses upon the Stanley tomb in Tonge Church were composed by Shakespeare:

> On the north side of the chancel of Tonge Church, in the county of Salop, stands a very stately tomb, supported with Corinthian columns. It hath two figures of men in armour thereon lying—the one below the arches and columns, and the other above them—and this epitaph upon it: "Thomas Stanley, Knight, second son of Edward, Earl of Derby," etc. These following verses were made by William Shakespeare, the late famous tragedian:
>
> *Written upon the East End of the Tomb*
> Aske who lies here, but do not weep;
> He is not dead, he doth but sleep.
> This stony register is for his bones,
> His fame is more perpetual than these stones;
> And his own goodness, with himself being gone,
> Shall live when earthly monument is none.
>
> *Written upon the West End Thereof*
> Not monumental stone preserves our fame,
> Nor sky-aspiring pyramids our name;
> The memory of him for whom this stands
> Shall outlive marble and defacers' hands:
> When all to Time's consumption shall be given,
> Stanley, for whom this stands, shall stand in heaven.

Halliwell-Phillipps cites from a manuscript[1] of the time of Charles I, "a much earlier authority than Dugdale," these same epitaphs, both said to have been composed by Shakespeare, but for Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Stanley, respectively. In view of the "two figures of men in armour" on the Stanley tomb, the latter statement seems plausible; and since Edward Stanley died in 1609, the monument, we may suppose, was erected shortly after that date. Sir Thomas and Sir Edward were sons of Edward Stanley, third Earl of Derby, brothers of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, and uncles of Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, second Earl of Derby, the friend of poets, and the patron of the troupe of actors, "The Lord Strange's Men," which Shakespeare joined soon after arriving in London.

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[1] Reproduced in facsimile in his *Works of William Shakespeare*, 1853, p. 162.

Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, was the father of Ursula Stanley, who married Sir John Salisbury, one of Shakespeare's most intimate London friends. To honor Salisbury and his wife Ursula, when Robert Chester celebrated them in *Love's Martyr*, 1601, Shakespeare composed, by way of an appendix to the volume, a graceful "poetical essay" entitled *The Phoenix and the Turtle.* And Salisbury's son, Sir Henry (named apparently for his grandfather, Henry Stanley), who came up to London in 1607 to enter the Middle Temple, was doubtless familiar with his father's distinguished friend. He seems to be the author of the verses written in 1623 to Heminges and Condell on the occasion of the publication of the First Folio, and recently found among the Salisbury papers.[1] Addressing the actors as "my good friends," the writer declares that in issuing Shakespeare's works they have given to England a treasure more glorious than "Cortés, with all his Castelyne associates" ever digged from the richest mines of Mexico; and he puts himself in the category of those who "loved the dead" playwright. By various scholars, too, it has been suggested that Shakespeare wrote *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* to celebrate the marriage of William Stanley, the brother of Ferdinando and nephew of Sir Thomas and Sir Edward. The connection of the dramatist with the Stanley family can thus be readily understood. And, as lending further credibility to the manuscript authorities already cited, we may add the statement of Halliwell-Phillipps that "the unvarying tradition of the inhabitants of Tonge" ascribes both poems to Shakespeare.

Still another epitaph, celebrating the "godly life" of one Elias James, is attributed to the dramatist in an early manuscript preserved in the Rawlinson Collection of the Bodleian Library. There was in Stratford a large family with the patronymic James, and though an "Elias" is not mentioned in the local parish registers, such a person might have been living in one of the numerous outlying hamlets. We may, therefore, if so disposed, indulge in the speculation that some grief-stricken relative requested Shakespeare to compose an epitaph for this pious man, and that the embarrassed poet, finding no ready escape, complied. Were such really the case, we might sympathize with him, for Aubrey, on the authority of Beeston, records that "when invited to write, he was in pain." The best that can be said for the lines is that they doubtless gave entire satisfaction and no little pleasure to the bereaved family.

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[1] See *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, January 26, 1922, p. 56. Sir John Salisbury died in 1612; Sir Henry's son was a mere boy in 1623.

An Epitaph

When God was pleas'd, the world unwilling yet,
Elias James to Nature pay'd his debt,
And here reposeth. As he liv'd he died,
The saying in him strongly verified,
"Such life, such death": then, the known truth to tell,
He liv'd a godly life, and died as well.
Wm. Shakespeare

Whatever we may think of the merits of these various epitaphs, or of the accuracy of the attributions to Shakespeare, there can be no doubt that traditionally the dramatist enjoyed a considerable reputation as a composer of sepulchral verse. And since distinguished poets were often called upon to supply monumental inscriptions when tombs were to be reared, and since, as Sir Sidney Lee observes, "It was no uncommon sport for wits at social meetings of the period to suggest impromptu epitaphs for themselves and their friends," we may have in these early manuscript records some glimmerings of truth.

But in judging the formal epitaphs here cited we should bear in mind the peculiar style of mortuary verse then in favor, and remember that when unhampered by convention Shakespeare could produce funeral tributes of rarest beauty. In *Cymbeline*, for instance, we find the song:

Fear no more the heat o' the sun,
  Nor the furious winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
  Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages;

and in *Julius Caesar* the oft-quoted eulogy:

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

BASSANIO AS AN IDEAL LOVER

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In the *Merchant of Venice,* Shakspere has made the failure of two suitors of Portia and the success of Bassanio in the choice of the caskets turn not upon the caprice of fortune but upon character so that only the true lover chooses aright. For the portrayal of character in this choice and through the play, he has used a number of motives which were so conventional in the literature of the Renaissance that their meaning must have been perfectly clear to his audiences. Some phases of the treatment are clear to modern readers, but others, particularly the basis of Bassanio's choice, remain somewhat obscure. By an analysis of the casket scenes and a discussion of the conventions used, the treatment can be shown to be a systematic one, with a definite meaning based on Renaissance theories of love.

Symbolism has been used in the casket scenes and its meaning has been indicated to a degree unwonted in Shakspere's plays. In the scene introducing Portia, Nerissa says:

> Your father was euer vertuous, and holy men at their death haue good inspirations, therefore the lotterie that hee hath deuised in these three chests of gold, siluer, and leade, whereof who chooses his meaning, chooses you, wil no doubt neuer be chosen by any rightly, but one who you shall rightly loue [I, ii, 27–32].

The whole course of the casket story enforces this. In running over the list of her unworthy suitors, Portia suggests the part that character may play, saying to Nerissa of the drunken "yong *Germaine,*" "set a deepe glasse of Reinish-wine on the contrary Casket, for if the diuell be within, and that temptation without, I know he will choose it (I, ii, 91–94). It is character as affecting judgment that determines the choice of the three suitors who dare to stake their future on the lottery of the caskets. The prince of Morocco is moved both by the brilliance of the gold casket and by its inscription promising "what many men desire." Magnifying in his soliloquy the plaudits of the world and the response of the masses to glamor, he is led by his deductions that "all the world desires her" and that she is too fair to be enshrined in aught but gold, to seek Portia as a gilded ornament for his worldly glory. The scroll with its maxims, "All that glisters is not gold" and "Guilded timber doe wormes infold," indicates that he fails because he chooses for show, and he is declared to be not "as wise as bold," not "in iudgement old" (II, vii). The Prince of Arragon furnishes a contrast to Morocco in scorning the impulses of

> the foole multitude that choose by show,
> Not learning more then the fond eye doth teach,
> Which pries not to th' interior.

In his arrogant pride, the subdued silver casket, with its promise of "as much as he deserues," causes him to reason that "cleare honour" should be "purchast by the merrit of the wearer" and to "assume desert" as one aloof from the common man. His reasoning is rewarded by a fool's head in the casket and the contemptuous remark of Portia:

> O these deliberate fooles when they doe choose,
> They haue the wisdome by their wit to loose [II, ix].

In contrast with these two, Bassanio is represented as having in his understanding of true love a wisdom that guides his judgment of the value of earthly glory and self-esteem. The basis indicated by Nerissa for success in the choice of the caskets is stressed by Portia as Bassanio prepares to choose:

> If you doe loue me, you will finde me out.

Then, as he reflects on the caskets and their inscriptions, "Tell me where is fancie bred" is sung with its declaration that fancy—constantly used to indicate sensual love—fed by the eyes, dies in its own indulgence of sense. As a lover who recognizes the fact that character and not surface beauty is the basis of true love and that intemperate lust for worldly acclaim and inordinate self-love represent perversions through sense or fancy, Bassanio picks up the thought and applies it:

> So may the outward showes be least themselues.

Reflecting on the assumption of self-righteousness in law and religion, he declares:

> There is no voice so simple, but assumes
> Some marke of vertue on his outward parts,

and rejects the temptation to self-appreciation offered by the silver casket. He naturally rejects the surface fairness of gold as

> The seeming truth which cunning times put on
> To intrap the wisest.

The "meager lead" with its inscription,

> Who chooseth me, must giue and hazard all he hath [II, vii, 10],

'which rather threateneth than doth promise aught,' moves him "more then eloquence," and he is rewarded as one that chose "not by the view" (III, ii). Thus Bassanio in his judgment is not moved by beauty of appearance, by the acclamation of the world, or by self-love, but by the appeal without circumstances of pomp to an ideal of self-abnegation and even of self-sacrifice in love.

The meaning can be shown more clearly by indicating the conventional aspects of the treatment of character and love in the play. The symbolic use of the caskets comes from medieval maxims and fables of the fallacy of judging by surface appearances. With it is joined through the lyric "Tell me where is fancie bred" the kindred idea of the impermanence of the love based on the appeal of external beauty to the senses, a connection made by modifying medieval conceits of love to fit a Platonic distinction between true and false love. The application of this last idea in Bassanio's choice and some phases of the characterization of the lovers reflect conceptions of Platonic love.

The idea of testing character through its judgment of values was old. On the fallacy of judging by appearances, two old maxims quoted in the scroll of the gold casket were cited above. They are merely sententious expressions of one of the usual morals drawn from the fable, or exemplum, on which the casket scenes were based. The popularity that this exemplum enjoyed in the Middle Ages continued in the sixteenth century.[1] Shakspere drew no doubt directly from the old play, *The Jew*, to which Gosson referred in 1579 as "representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers," and this in turn from Robinson's reprint (1577, etc.) of the Wynken de Worde translation of the *Gesta Romanorum*.[1] The application, however, of this or other concrete illustrations of the fallacy of judging by appearances was often extended as in the *Merchant of Venice* to point a moral in regard to judgment in the more abstract problems of life. A hint of Bassanio's figure when he says of the lead casket,

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[1] See Lee, *The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 294 ff., for the versions.

> Thy palenesse[2] moues me more then eloquence,

occurs in Nashe's declaration in *The Anatomy of Absurditie* (1588) that lovers of ornate style "forsake sounder Artes, to followe smoother eloquence, not vnlike to him that had rather haue a newe painted boxe, though there be nothing but a halter in it, then an olde bard hutch with treasure inualuable."[3] The application of similar examples in discussions of true and false love was especially frequent. In *Euphues*,[4] Lyly, after declaring that "the contemplation of the inward qualitie ought to bee respected, more then the view of the outward beautie" and that one "should loue those best whose vertue is best," gives a long list of concrete examples of the deceptiveness of appearances including the statement, "in the most curious Sepulcher are enclosed rotten bones." In *Alcilia*[5] (1595), the following aphorism is put in quotation marks:

> "In meanest show the most affection dwels,
> "And richest pearles are found in simplest shells.

Greene applies the casket story to his discussion of true and false love in *Mamillia* (1580): "he which maketh choyce of bewty without vertue commits as much folly as *Critius* did, in choosing a golden boxe filled with rotten bones."[6]

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[1] *Merchant of Venice* (ed. Furness), pp. 305, 315–20.

[2] "Plainness" is an emendation accepted by most editors.

[3] *Works* (ed. McKerrow), I, 31.

[4] Ed. Arber, pp. 53–54.

[5] No. lviii; ed. Grosart, p. 30.

[6] *Works* (ed. Grosart), II, 114 (see pp. 25–28, 99, 154, 192, 232–33, 239, and 257–58, for similar passages). Greene may have drawn his illustration from *The Jew;* see Koeppel, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 250.

A different conception of the fallacy of being moved by the surface appeal is expressed in the lyric:

> Tell me where is fancie bred,
> Or in the heart, or in the head:
> How begot, how nourished. Replie, replie.
> It is engendred in the eyes,
> With gazing fed, and Fancie dies,
> In the cradle where it lies.

The lyric is so worded as to suggest every principle that should guide the lover in his judgment. As a general definition of fancy, it furnishes a warning against the judgment by appearances. As a conventional definition of the transitory love of the senses, it warns against a false ideal of love. Finally, in its passing reference to the love of the heart, in contrast to that of the eye, it suggests the nature of spiritual love, by the tenets of which Bassanio is guided in making his choice.

The background of these ideas was furnished by the contrast between reason and sense constantly made in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in works which preached the virtuous and controlled conduct of life through the dominance of sense by reason, as in Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*, Medwall's *Nature*, and Elyot's *Platonike Dialogue*. Fancy was a term constantly used for the mental attitude in which the impulses and passions of the senses mastered reason. Further, in attacks on love, sensuality and love were made synonymous by medieval moralists. Not infrequently the point of view was expressed in the love allegories of the Middle Ages as in Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*.[1] With the Renaissance distinction between earthly and spiritual love, the latter was associated with the virtuous life as the type in which reason controlled. This modification appeared early in discussions of Platonic love. The old point of view was often expressed in English poetry of the sixteenth century, sometimes in debates of love and reason typically medieval,[2] while love guided by reason and love inspired by the senses were contrasted in passages of fiction and in songs reflecting Platonism.[1]

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[1] See also Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, end; *Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 3051–59, 3189–3334, 4543–45; Dunbar, *Goldyn Targe;* etc.

[2] See "The skirmish betwixt *Reason* and *Passion*" in Sidney's *Arcadia* (ed. Feuillerat), I, 339–40 (cf. Add. MS 34064, fol. 27*a*, cited in *Modern Language Notes*, XXII, 43); "Loues accusation at the iudgement seat of Reason" in *Alcilia* (ed. Grosart), pp. 33–41; "A Dialogue 'twixt Passion and Reason" in Baron's *Pocula Castalia*, 1650, p. 85; etc. Compare passages not in debate form in Howell's *Poems* (ed. Grosart), pp. 58, 59, 229, 250, 261–62; *Arcadia*, I, 76, 93, 113–14, etc.; Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody* (ed. Bullen), II, 5, 71; and so on indefinitely.

For the common conception of love as a thing of the senses, varied terms are used—love often even by those who distinguish the two types, disease,[2] desire, affection, frenzy, and fancy, the last already spoken of as applying particularly to the irrational mind controlled by sense. To cite a few examples from a multitude, Googe describes love as the result of "feruent Humour," "Affection blynd," "Phrensie framde in Fancie fond,"[3] and Breton in his *Floorish vpon Fancie* (1582) makes an elaborate study of love follies inspired by fancy. Theseus in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* declares:

> The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact [V, i, 7–8];

and Rosalind in *As You Like It* says, "Love is merely a madness" (III, ii, 420).

This malign influence of love as the chief manifestation of sense was worked out by the poets in many conceits and fancies which furnished the background for the phraseology of Shakspere's lyric. Particularly popular both on the Continent and in England were definitions of love[4] in which conceits of its contradictory effects and of its birth, nurture, and quick death occurred. In these and elsewhere in medieval and Renaissance love poetry conceits of the eyes as generators of love and of the heart as the seat of the lover's pains or passions were inevitable. Common also was the contrast of love and reason.

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[1] *Arcadia*, I, 98; *Euphues*, pp. 422–23; Jonson, *Hymenaei*, and *Forest*, No. xi, "Epode"; *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II, ii, 115 ff. (cf. III, i, 142 ff.); etc.

[2] See Lowes, *Modern Philology*, XI, 491 ff.

[3] *Eglogs*, etc. (ed. Arber), pp. 32–33; and *passim* for other illustrations.

[4] See Wright, *Anecdota Literaria*, p. 96, for a Middle English example from Digby MS 86. Lyrics or passages answering the query "What is love?" or variants, occur in Feilde, *A Lover and a Jay* (*Dunbar Anthology* [ed. Arber], pp. 202–3); *A gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions* (ed. Collier), pp. 73–74; Greene, *Menaphon* (see Adams, *MLN*, XXII, 225), and *Mourning Garment* (*Works of Greene and Peele* [ed. Dyce], pp. 291–92, 305); fragments of Peele's *Hunting of Cupid* (see Malone Soc. *Collections*, I, 309–14); *Phoenix Nest* (ed. Collier), pp. 115–16 (also in *England's Helicon* [ed. Bullen], pp. 106–7; see pp. xxi f. and *Westminster Drollery* [ed. Ebsworth], pp. 63–64, xxviii, for other texts); *Alcilia* [ed. Grosart], p. 50 (see pp. 29, 43–44); Ford, *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*, No. ii (in Fellowes, *English Madrigal Verse*, pp. 468–69; see pp. 43, 53, 61, 203, 323, 376–77, 504–5, 509–10, 514, 538 [Jones, *Muses Gardin*, "Love is a pretty frenzy, / A melancholy fire, / Begot by looks," etc.], 604, for other definitions in the songbooks); *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, III, i (also in *The Captain*, II, ii; see Smith, *Musica Antiqua*, p. 55, for a MS version); Wroth, *Urania*, 1621, p. 144; Heath, *Clarastella*, 1650, p. 36. See also *Blurt, Master-Constable*, II, ii; *Hymen's Triumph*, I, v; Chester, *Love's Martyr*, New Shakspere Soc., pp. 78–79 (with the reply of Phoenix, "O Holy Loue," etc., compare *Courtier*, pp. 361–63 [quoted in part below]; Breton, *Longing of a Blessed Heart* [ed. Grosart], pp. 12–13; Jonson, *Forest*, No. xi; Middleton, *Phoenix*, II, ii, 164 ff.; *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, ll. 750 ff.); etc.

Many of these definitions resemble Shakspere's song. A thirteenth-century sonnet of Guido Orlandi to Cavalcanti, which opens a sequence of poems on the nature of love that supposedly influenced Spenser in his *Fowre Hymnes*,[1] furnishes an early parallel:

> Onde si move e donde nasce amore?
> qual è 'l su' proprio loco ov' e' dimora?
> è sustanzia, accidente o memora?
> è cagion d'occhi o è voler di core?
> da che procede suo stato o furore?
> come foco si sente che divora?
> di che si notrica domand'io ancora,
> come e quando e di cui si fa segnore?
> che cosa è, dico, amor? ae figura? . . . .[2]

Jacopo de Lentino says:

> Amore è un disio che vien dal core,
> Per l'abbondanza di gran piacimento;
> E gli occhi in prima generan l'Amore,
> E lo core li dà nutricamento, ...[3]

Similar phraseology occurs in an early Spanish lyric[4] and in "*Seraphine* sonetto 127" given by Watson as the source of his *Passionate Centurie of Loue*, xxii, "When werte thou borne sweet *Loue?* who was thy sire?" etc. A lyric by the Earl of Oxford, written before 1589, has the queries: "When wert thou borne desire?" "By whom sweete boy wert thou begot?" and "Tell me who was thy nurse?"[5] Lodge's Sonnet xxvi from *Phillis*, said by Kastner to be an adaptation of Bembo's *Capitolo*, "Amor e Donne care un vano e fello,"[1] is more like Shakspere's lyric in its conceits:

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[1] See Fletcher, *Religion of Beauty in Woman*, pp. 109 ff.

[2] Rivalta, *Le Rime di Guido Cavalcanti*, p. 122.

[3] This is cited as a parallel to Shakspere by Harris, *MLN*, XXII, 199; see XXII, 232, and XXIII, 126–27, for other parallels cited by Young and Lang.

[4] Cited by de Perott, *Nation*, XCII, 444.

[5] Puttenham, *Arte of Eng. Poesie* (ed. Arber), pp. 215–16; Hannah, *Poems of Raleigh*, etc., pp. 142–43.

> I'll teach thee, lovely Phillis, what love is.
> It is a vision seeming such as thou,
> That flies as fast as it assaults mine eyes;
> It is affection that doth reason miss;
> It is a shape of pleasure like to you,
> Which meets the eye, and seen on sudden dies;
> It is a double grief, a spark of pleasure
> Begot by vain desire. . . . .

Passages similar to the songs also occur in the discussions of love that fill sixteenth-century fiction. Lyly, for instance, has: "For as by Basill the Scorpion is engendred, and by the meanes of the same hearb destroyed: so loue which by time and fancie is bred in an idle head, is by time and fancie banished from the heart: or as the Salamander which being a long space nourished in the fire, at the last quencheth it, so affection hauing taken holde of the fancie," etc.[2]

As a conventional definition of love, Shakspere's lyric suggests, however, a contrast between the love of the heart and the love of the eyes and so, particularly in its connection, a distinction between the two types of love. The conceit is one that Shakspere had already expressed more clearly several times as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* (I, i, 234):

> Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind,

and *Romeo and Juliet* (II, iii, 67–68):

> young men's love then lies
> Not truly in their hearts, but in their eyes.[3]

This distinction cannot be traced so far as I know before the Renaissance,[4] but it is one that might easily have been made at any time on the basis of the constant contrast in love poetry, on the one hand between reason and love, and on the other between heart and eye.[1] Both of these conceptions lent themselves readily to the formulation of a distinction between the spiritual love of the heart and the sensual love of the eyes without a material change of the phraseology conventional in definitions of love. The new conceit apparently achieved some vogue early enough to influence Shakspere. For example, in a series of poems written by a French group devoted to the cult of Platonic love and published as *Le Cercle d'Amour* in 1544 a number are on the theme "Toutes à l'œil, mais une au cueur me touche," with this as the closing line. In Dizain 28, there is also a line:

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[1] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, 156.

[2] *Euphues*, p. 298; the parallel is cited by Rushton, 4 *Notes and Queries*, XII, 304.

[3] Law, *Nation*, XCII, 421, cites the last. See *Comedy of Errors*, III, ii, 58, and *Troilus and Cressida*, V, ii, 110 ff., for error of the eye; *Venus and Adonis*, ll. 779–80, for the heart armed against the seduction of the ear; and Campion, *Songs and Masques*, Muses' Library, p. 123:

> Love in the bosom is begot,
> Not in the eyes.

[4] Lyly in *Euphues* (ed. Arber), p. 362, refers a kindred distinction to Petrarch, but Bond, *Works of Lyly*, II, 129, 518, unable to find a parallel in the *Sonnetti*, thinks that the Petrarchan source is "probably imaginary."

L'œil peult faillir, le cueur est sans mespris.[2]

Ralegh's poem, "A Poesy to Prove Affection is not Love," which though published in 1602 in Davidson's *Poetical Rhapsody*[3] may be older than Shakspere's lyric, furnishes in the contrast of "affection" —a term synonymous with "fancy"—and true love and in the conceits of the first stanza a close parallel to Shakspere's song:

Conceit, begotten by the eyes,
Is quickly born, and quickly dies;
For while it seeks our hearts to have,
Meanwhile there reason makes his grave;
For many things the eyes approve,
Which yet the heart doth seldom love.[4]

Shakspere's lyric would consequently, in addition to warning against the varied deceptions of the eyes, turn the thought of a lover familiar with Renaissance theories of love to the conception of true love, and this would give him a basis for judging the inscriptions of the caskets. He would disregard the beauty of the gold casket and the appeal of its inscription to "desire," as Arragon and Bassanio do. The choice remaining would be between the pale casket of silver with its inscription calling for an assumption of desert and the pale one of lead with its inscription demanding that the lover give all. The choice of the latter by the true lover Bassanio represents an aspect of the idealization of love that may be best explained on the basis of the conception of Platonic love current in sixteenth-century England.

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[1] Debates of the eye and heart, usually before the tribunal of Venus or Reason, about their relative responsibility for the lover's pains are medieval in origin (see Hammond, *Anglia*, XXXIV, 235–65; Hanford, *MLN*, XXVI, 161–65), but they continued popular among the English sonneteers of the sixteenth century. Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, 1916, pp. 184–85, after citing Ronsard and a kindred conceit of Petrarch, lists for England, Barnes, *Parthenophe and Parthenophil*, xx; Watson, *Tears of Fancie*, xix, xx; Constable, *Diana*, VI, vii (see also I, v and vi; II, v; III, ix; IV, viii); Drayton, *Idea*, xxxiii; Shakspere, *Sonnets*, xlvi, xlvii (compare also xxiv, cxiii, cxxxvii, cxlviii).

[2] Kerr, *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 48–57; see Dizain 13, "Ou gist amour? la ou vertu demeure," etc., for conceits similar to a number already cited.

[3] Ed. Bullen, II, 112–13.

[4] The parallel has been noted by Wagner (see *Alcilia* [ed. Grosart], p. xxx) and Hanford, *Nation*, XCII, 315–16.

The treatment of the subject most widely known in the period was no doubt that in Hoby's translation of the *Courtier.* In Book IV the meaning of virtue in the prince, courtier, and lover is first sketched in terms that fit the portrayal of character in the casket scenes of the *Merchant of Venice.* It is declared that virtue is "a wisdome and an understanding to chouse the good" (p. 305),[1] that the "affections therfore that be clensed and tried by temperance are assistant to vertue" (p. 309), and that in certain impulses including "the desire to save a mans estymation, meekenesse," etc., "wisdome is guide, which consisteth in a certain judgement to chouse well" (p. 310). One must

> apply all his studie and diligence to get knowleage, afterward to facion within him selfe and observe unchangeablye in everye thinge the lawe of reason . . . . riddinge him of those troublous affections that untemperate mindes feele, whiche bycause on the one side they be (as it were) cast into a moste deepe sleepe of ignorance, on the other overwhelmed with the unquietnesse which they feele through their weyward and blind desires, they are stirred with an unquiet rage, as he that sleepeth otherwile with straunge and horrible visions [p. 315].

This conception of virtue furnishes the basis for differentiating three types of love according to the moral plane of the lover:

> Love is nothinge elles but a certein covetinge to enjoy beawtie: . . . . it is requisite that knowleage go evermore before coveting [;] . . . . in oure soule there be three maner wayes to know, namelye, by sense, reason, and understandinge: of sense, there arriseth appetite or longinge, which is commune to us with brute beastes: of reason arriseth election or choise, which is

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[1] Ed. Raleigh, Tudor Translations. See Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff., for Platonic love in Spenser, Benivieni, and others.

proper to man: of understanding, by the which man may be partner with Aungelles, arriseth will. Even as therfore the sense knoweth not but sensible matters and that which may be felt, so the appetyte or covetinge onlye desireth the same: and even as the understanding is bent but to beehoulde thinges that may be understoode, so is that wil only fead with spirituall goodes. Man of nature indowed with reason, placed (as it were) in the middle beetwene these two extremities, may through his choise inclinynge to sense, or reachynge to understandynge, come nigh to the covetinge somtime of the one somtime of the other part. In these sortes therfore may beawtie be coveted, the general name wherof may be applied to al thinges, eyther naturall or artificiall, that are framed in good proportion, and due tempre, as their nature beareth. . . . . Whan the soule then is taken wyth covetynge to enjoye thys beawtie as a good thynge, in case she suffre her selfe to be guyded with the judgement of sense, she falleth into most deepe erroures, and judgeth the bodie in whyche Beawtye is descerned, to be the principall cause therof . . . . moved . . . . not wyth true knowleage by the choise of reason, but wyth false opinyon by the longinge of sense [pp. 342–44] [;] . . . . beawtie commeth of God [;] . . . . as there can be no circle without a centre, no more can beawty be without goodnesse. Wherupon doeth verie sildome an ill soule dwell in a beawtifull bodye [p. 348] [;] . . . . let him [the lover] obey, please, and honoure with all reverence his woman, and recken her more deere to him then his owne lief [p. 354] [;][1] . . . . through the vertue of imagination he shall facion within himself that beawty muche more faire, then it is in deede [;] . . . . meddlinge all beawties together, he shall make an universall concept [;] . . . . in steade of goinge out of his witt with thought, as he must do that will consider the bodilye beawty, he may come into his witt, to behoulde the beawty that is seene with the eyes of the minde [;] . . . . the soule . . . . openeth the eyes that all men have, and fewe occupy, and seeth in her self a shining beame of that lyght, which is the true image of the aungelike beawtye partened with her, whereof she also partneth with the bodye a feeble shadowe: . . . . and not onlye cleane forsaketh sense, but hath no more neede of the discourse of reason, for being chaunged into an Aungell, she understandeth all thinges that may be understoode: and without any veile or cloude, she seeth the meine sea of the pure heavenlye beawtye and receiveth it into her [;] . . . . puttynge of the affections we were clad withall at our comminge downe, let us clime up the stayers,[2] which at the lowermost stepp have the shadowe of sensuall beawty, to the high mansion place where the heavenlye, amiable, and right beawtye dwelleth, which lyeth hid in the innermost secretes of God,

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[1] Elsewhere even in dealing with earthly love Castiglione stresses "meekenesse" and the medieval idea of service with the subordination of the will of the lover to that of the lady (pp. 346, 276).

[2] Compare Bassanio's statement that "cowards whose hearts are all as false / As stayers of sand" assume "Some marke of vertue" (III, ii, 87–94).

> least unhalowed eyes shoulde come to the syght of it. . . . . O most holy love . . . . Thou most beawtifull, most good, most wise, art dirived of the unity of heavenly beautie, goodnesse and wisedome, and therin doest thou abide, and unto it through it (as in a circle) tournest about. Thou the most sweete bonde of the worlde, a meane beetwext heavenlye and earthlye thynges, wyth a bountifull tempre bendest the high vertues to the government of the lower, and tourninge backe the mindes of mortall men to their beeginning, cooplest them with it. Thou with agreement bringest the Elementes in one. . . . . Thou art the father of true pleasures, of grace, peace, lowlynesse and good will. . . . . Pourge wyth the shininge beames of thy light our eyes from mysty ignoraunce, that they maye no more set by mortall beawty. . . . . Accept oure soules, that be offred unto thee for a sacrifice. Burn them in the livelye flame that wasteth al grosse filthines, that after they be cleane sundred from the body, thei may be copled with an everlastinge and most sweet bonde to the heavenly beawty. And we severed from oure selves, may be chaunged like right lovers into the beloved, and after we be drawen from the earth, admitted to the feast of the aungelles [pp. 358–63].

It is clear that the fancy, frenzy, appetite of sense, often expressed figuratively in these passages by the eye, is what the lover must avoid. Only thus can he climb the stair through sense and reason to the understanding of love and be ready to give all. 'Forsaking sense' and having "no more neede of the discourse of reason," Bassanio "understands" through an absolute reliance on a spiritual ideal; 'severed from self' and 'offered for a sacrifice,' he proves himself in his judgment and choice the one who 'rightly loves.' In addition to 'giving all' Bassanio 'hazards all' in the casket choice since he forswears marriage in case of failure.

Such discussions as Castiglione's were conventional enough in the Renaissance to make the motivation of Bassanio's choice significant to Shakspere's audiences. Ficino's phrases, in characterizing the true lover as one who "despiseth riches and honour for the sake of the person beloved," for "where two love one another, each of them departeth from himself to draw near unto the other, and dieth in himself to revive in the other,"[1] have the spirit of the casket choice. Sidney in *Arcadia* (I, 78) says: "True love hath that excellent nature in it, that it doth transform the very essence of the lover into the thing loved." On the other hand, the vice of self-love was frequently condemned in the age.[1]

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[1] Quoted by Raleigh, *Courtier*, pp. lxxiv, lxxv; for Dante see Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff.

If the real test of judgment comes in the appeals to self-love and to humility, the inscriptions of the caskets are of far more significance than the metal. The semibarbaric Morocco chooses by the exterior view and by an appeal to the senses only slightly more subtle—the promise of "what men desire." Arragon, a man with "knowledge" but lacking "understanding," guided by his reasoning and influenced by self-love, has 'the wisdom by his wit to lose.' Bassanio's choice through understanding of self-abnegation is the climax and completion of a series of choices based on an ascending scale of ideals which illustrate sense, reason, and understanding.

The true judgment of Bassanio is the foundation of the characterization of Bassanio and Portia as lovers "Whose soules doe bear an egal yoke of loue." For, while Shakspere makes them two very human characters with marked individuality, there is enough reflection of Platonism through the rest of the play to emphasize the idealization of love in the casket scenes. Portia emphasizes the harmony of lovers stressed by Castiglione and considered possible in friendship[2] and love for those only who have achieved perfection in moral virtues:

> in companions
> That do conuerse and waste the time together,
> Whose soules doe beare an egal yoke of loue,
> There must needs be a like proportion
> Of lyniaments, of manners, and of spirit;
> Which makes me thinke that this *Anthonio*
> Being the bosome louer of my Lord,
> Must needs be like my Lord. If it be so,
> How little is the cost I haue bestowed
> In purchasing the semblance of my soule;
> From out the state of hellish cruelty,
> This comes too neere the praising of my selfe,
> Therefore no more of it [III, iv, 13–25].

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[1] For self-love personified as Philautia, see a letter of Cheke printed in Park's *Nugae Antiquae*, I, 41–47; Watson, translation of *Antigone* of Sophocles (see *Poems* [ed. Arber], p. 7); Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuses*, New Shakspere Soc., p. 29; Lodge, *Catharos*, Hunterian Club, pp. 49–50; Harington, Preface to *Orlando Furioso* (Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 217–18); *Cynthia's Revels* (in V, iii, contrasted with Storgé, "Allowable Self-love"); *NED*, under "Philauty." Compare Philautus in Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*, Lyly's *Euphues*, etc.

[2] See *Courtier*, p. 138; *Damon and Pithias* (Hazlitt-Dodsley, *Old English Plays*, IV, 31); and *Euphues*, p. 386, for friendship.

A suggestion of Bassanio's idealization of Portia's beauty as a symbol of a greater spiritual beauty is found in his declaration:

> And she is faire, and fairer then that word,
> Of wondrous vertues [I, i, 172–73];

while Jessica, in an obscure passage that may be corrupt, seems to state that it can be only through his own earthly love that Bassanio can fail to find in Portia's spiritual quality the ideal which furnishes "the stayers" mentioned by Castiglione for climbing to "the high mansion place" of God where heavenly beauty dwells:

> it is very meete
> The Lord *Bassanio* liue an vpright life
> For hauing such a blessing in his Lady,
> He findes the ioyes of heauen heere on earth,
> And if on earth he doe not meane[1] it, it
> Is reason he should neuer come to heauen [III, v, 69–74].

This Platonic symbolism of the harmony of lovers through the idealization of beauty and virtue is completed in the play by a beautiful passage in which another Platonic conception of mystic harmonies is expressed. Just as friends and lovers are about to reunite after the separation created by Shylock's action, Lorenzo, in a moonlight night created for love, tells Jessica of the music of the spheres, adding:

> Such harmonie is in immortal soules,
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grosly close in it, we cannot heare it [V, i, 69–74].[2]

From this high level of mysticism Shakspere descends in the reunion of his characters and the merriment of the ring episode to the level of sprightly human comedy.

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[1] *Meane* in the sense of understand sufficiently to idealize Portia's spirituality?

[2] See Lloyd, *Athenaeum*, May 12, 1877, for a discussion of the passage. In ll. 91–92 music is said to change the nature of the sensual. Music is played while Bassanio chooses, but no such application is made except in the prophetic hint that it summons "dreaming bride-groomes" to marriage.

How much of the symbolism of the play was due to *The Jew*, written when allegory in drama was still flourishing and when theorizing on ideal love was still young, cannot be determined, but Creizenach and others have shown that in all probability Shakspere's plot at least was already practically complete in the old play (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, LI, 171–86).

FLETCHER AND *HENRY THE EIGHTH*

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In re-reading recently *The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth,* I was somewhat surprised at not finding in the parts of the play ascribed to Fletcher those peculiarities of style which I had come to consider as characteristic of him. At my first opportunity I hastened to examine Spedding's "Who Wrote Shakespeare's *Henry the Eighth*?"[1] but I finished his discussion with more doubts than I had had before. His ascription of certain scenes to Fletcher seemed to me to have been made in a most summary manner. He concerned himself not at all with the plays known to be Fletcher's, but was content simply to point out in certain scenes of *Henry VIII* what were admitted to be characteristics of Fletcher's style. He did not show that these characteristics were peculiar to Fletcher; nor did he suggest to what extent they appear in Fletcher's undoubted work. In a strict sense, Spedding cannot be said to have made any tests whatsoever. Like Spalding and Hickson before him, he indulged only in what Fleay called "higher criticism," agreeing with Furnivall that "Counting can never be a better judge than real criticism."[2] Though willing to admit the truth of Furnivall's observation, I am Teuton enough to demand in the ascription of a play for which we have as little evidence as for *Henry VIII* a fairly close agreement between counting and real criticism. I should demand that the characteristics upon which the ascription is made be shown to be characteristics, and, save in cases where the characteristics are obviously foreign to one of two men known to have collaborated in the play, that the characteristics be peculiar. Spedding, as I have said, did no counting at all. He wrote under the influence of previous articles by Spalding and Hickson, and apparently nominated Fletcher as the second author in *Henry VIII* because he considered that it had previously been proved that Fletcher and Shakspere had collaborated in *The Two Noble Kinsmen.*[1]

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[1] *Gentlemen's Magazine,* August, 1850, pp. 115–23; reprinted in *New Shak. Soc. Trans.,* 1874, pp. 1–18, with the title, "On the Several Shares of Shakspere and Fletcher in the Play of *Henry VIII.*"

[2] "Mr. Hickson's Division of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Confirmed by the Stop-Line Test," *NSST,* 1874, p. 64.

But this collaboration is still doubted. Spalding and Hickson were interested primarily in claiming part of the play for Shakspere. Those parts which obviously could not be claimed for Shakspere they quite summarily relegated to Fletcher, observing only most casually the resemblance between their style and the style of Fletcher. Many have doubted the possibility of Shakspere's hand in the play, but no one seems to have questioned Fletcher's—not, I believe, so much because the style of parts peculiarly resembles the style of Fletcher as because critics have merely been more interested in the question of Shakspere's authorship. So likewise the tests made by Furnivall and Fleay in confirmation of the divisions of *Two Noble Kinsmen* and *Henry VIII,* though they seem to show that two men were engaged in the plays, in no way identify one as Fletcher.

Beyond the fact that Shakspere and Fletcher were engaged in writing for the same company, there is little evidence of their collaboration. There seems to be every reason to doubt the correctness of the ascription of the lost *Cardenio* to Fletcher and Shakspere made by the ambitious publisher Humphrey Moseley in 1653. Aside from the fact that *Cardenio* was not included in the folio, Moseley's assigning on the same day *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* to Shakspere alone and the two plays *Henry I* and *Henry II* to Shakspere and Davenant—the latter a boy of ten when Shakspere died—renders it quite probable that in the ascription of *Cardenio* Moseley was either insincere or misinformed. There remains only *The Two Noble Kinsmen,* published in 1634 as

> Written by the memorable Worthies of their time;
> Mr. John Fletcher, and } Gent.
> Mr. William Shakespeare }

Scholars are perhaps about equally divided on the question of whether or not Shakspere had a hand in the play; and if we once doubt the correctness of the title-page, there remains no trustworthy external evidence of any collaboration.

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[1] See *Gent. Mag.*, XXXIV, 381, or the reprint in *NSST*, 1874, p. 21, where Spedding admits the influence of Spalding and "additional light, more perhaps than I am aware of, from Mr. Hickson himself." Fletcher had been first suggested to him by Tennyson.

But even should we grant that Shakspere and Fletcher were the authors of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, there seem to me to be many obvious differences of style between the so-called Fletcherian scenes of it and of *Henry VIII*, although the theory of collaboration demands that the two be dated at approximately the same time. In the first place, to take Furnivall's figures, the proportion of non-stop lines in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is 1 to every 5.66 lines, whereas in *Henry VIII* it is 1 to every 3.85. The same scenes in *Henry VIII* are well larded with general truths, from which *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is remarkably free.[1] In the 1,590 lines ascribed to Fletcher in the former play, there are sixteen statements of general truths, while in 1,398 lines ascribed to him in the latter play there are only two. There is likewise in the non-Shaksperean scenes of *Henry VIII* an economy of expression far beyond the reach of the second author of the *Noble Kinsmen*. Though the second author of *Henry VIII* was indeed possessed of a "vicious ear," he had none the less a power of economy of expression. But it is not my purpose to discuss *The Two Noble Kinsmen;* my limited space demands that I deal only with the authorship of *Henry VIII*. I wish merely to point out that there is very little evidence of collaboration of Shakspere and Fletcher, and that in the play for which the best case can be made for such collaboration, the style of the so-called Fletcherian scenes is different from the style of the second author of *Henry VIII*.

The only bits of external evidence I have come across suggestive of Fletcher's pen in parts of *Henry VIII* are two passages of the so-called Fletcherian scenes which are paralleled, one in *Philaster*, the other in lines "Upon an Honest Man's Fortune. By Mr. *John Fletcher*." Philaster's

> . . . . All your better deeds
> Shall be in water writ, but this in marble [V, iii, 83–84],

seems to be echoed in Griffith's

> Men's evil manners we write in brass; their virtues
> We write in water [IV, ii, 45–46].

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[1] The test was applied only to the scenes of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* which Spalding, Hickson, and Littledale agreed in assigning to Fletcher; II, ii–vi; III, iii–vi; IV, i, ii; V, ii. In applying tests to *Henry VIII*, I have taken the scenes usually ascribed to Fletcher: I, iii, iv; II, i, ii; III, i, ii(*b*); IV, i, ii; V, ii–v.

There seems, too, to be an echo of Wolsey's famous speech in the line from "Upon an Honest Man's Fortune":

> Oh man! thou Image of thy Makers good.

The thought of the first of these, however, must have been too often expressed for us necessarily to attribute the two passages to the same hand. For the second parallel, as *Henry VIII* must have been on the stage when the lines "Upon an Honest Man's Fortune" were written, there is nothing unusual in so striking a figure's being borrowed. Whatever value these similarities would have in the ascription of parts of *Henry VIII* to Fletcher, seems to me to be more than counterbalanced by the fact that "a striking passage in Cranmer's famous speech (in the last scene of the play) . . . . [is] ludicrously parodied in Fletcher's *The Beggars' Bush* (see Higgen's mock address, Act II, sc. 1)."[1]

The strongest argument for Fletcher's participation in *Henry VIII* is certainly the great number of lines with feminine endings. The tendency toward the use of feminine endings is the most pronounced characteristic of Fletcher's style, and this tendency is most marked in the non-Shaksperean parts of *Henry VIII.* I have compared the proportion here with the proportion in four of Fletcher's plays and have found that, although the proportion in *Henry VIII* is almost twice as great as the proportion in the Fletcherian scenes of *Philaster* and *The Maid's Tragedy,* it is practically the same as that in *Bonduca* and *Valentinian*—a little smaller than in the former, a little greater than in the latter. But in spite of this recognized Fletcherian characteristic in *Henry VIII,* the differences in style, as shown by other tests which I give later, make me doubt that the non-Shaksperean scenes were written wholly by Fletcher, that his collaboration with Shakspere was "direct; i.e., after making a fairly detailed outline, each writer took certain scenes, and to all intents, completed these scenes after his own fashion."[2] If Fletcher had a hand in *Henry VIII,* the results of these tests would suggest that it was not so free a hand as has come to be believed, that either he was revising the work of another, or that the peculiarities of his style were modified by the active collaboration of another.

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[1] Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Lit.,* II, 207.

[2] Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts about Shakespeare,* p. 160. The view of Miss Nicolson, I believe, differs from this only in that she thinks that Fletcher added his scenes later; she still accepts the non-Shaksperean scenes as by Fletcher alone ("The Authorship of Henry the Eighth," *PMLA,* XXXVII [1922], 484–502).

A comparison of *Henry VIII* with its sources argues strongly against Fletcher's participation. In a recent article Miss Nicolson wrote:

> A study of sources of the play throws little light upon the problem of authorship. . . . . If we accept for the time being the division of scenes made by Spedding, we find that in the Shakespearean portions there are fourteen direct borrowings from Holinshed; three from Foxe; one from Hall; two which may be from Cavendish or Holinshed. Fletcher has ten from Holinshed, two from Hall, four from Foxe, four which may be from Cavendish or Holinshed.[1]

When she wrote that "A study of sources throws little light upon the problem of authorship," Miss Nicolson meant, of course, only that the source material was used in the same manner and to about the same extent in the parts ascribed to the two authors. "In no other play of Shakespeare's are the borrowings more pronounced than in this, and in no play have the historical passages been so little revised. Both authors have simply versified long passages from the chronicles. . . . ."[2] But such pronounced borrowing was certainly not Fletcher's wont. It seems scarcely probable that he should here borrow so directly from his sources and never do the same again. If one compares *Bonduca*—Fletcher's only play based upon Holinshed—with the account given in either Holinshed or Tacitus, one finds practically no verbal borrowing whatsoever, although both accounts offer several excellent opportunities. Though Holinshed gives at length the prebattle prayer of Bonduca and the speech of Suetonius to his troops, Fletcher, when he wrote speeches for these leaders in the identical situations,[3] borrowed not a single word. In the whole of *Bonduca*, there are scarcely half a dozen echoes of Holinshed, and there is not an instance of even a clause from Holinshed being versified.

In view, therefore, of Fletcher's general practice and especially of his use of Holinshed in *Bonduca*, we can at least state most emphatically that the pronounced verbal borrowing in the non-Shaksperean parts of *Henry VIII* is not characteristic of Fletcher.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 487.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

[3] The only difference is that in Holinshed, Suetonius addresses the troops, whereas in *Bonduca* he addresses the captains.

Likewise several stylistic tests which I have made seem to show that certain characteristics of Fletcher's style are lacking in the so-called Fletcherian scenes of *Henry VIII.* In these tests I have attempted to apply to several of Fletcher's plays and to the non-Shaksperean parts of *Henry VIII* some of the observations upon Fletcher's style noted by Spalding in the essay which was to influence Spedding.[1]

One of the characteristics of Fletcher's style noted by Spalding was the absence of general truths. Spalding used the term "general truths" loosely to include maxims, proverbs, and concisely worded observations upon human nature. For the appearance of general truths, I examined *The Faithful Shepherdess*, the Fletcherian parts of *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster*,[2] which must have been written shortly before *Henry VIII*, and *Bonduca* and *Valentinian*, which must have been written within a few years following, as Richard Burbage, who acted in both plays, died in 1618.[3] In the 590 lines of *The Maid's Tragedy* and the 619 lines of *Philaster* assigned by all critics to Fletcher, there is not a single instance of a general truth, and in *The Faithful Shepherdess* there are but three. In the 1,590 lines of *Henry VIII* ascribed to Fletcher, there are sixteen—an average of 1 to every 99.3 lines. In *Bonduca*, there are but seven—an average of 1 to every 328; in *Valentinian*, fourteen—an average of 1 to every 197.6; although one might imagine that, inasmuch as the one is a tragedy of ancient Britain and the other a tragedy of Rome, there would be a greater opportunity for the introduction of general truths than in *Henry VIII.*

Spalding noted, too, that Fletcher was not prone to use, as were Shakspere and Massinger, "an involved and parenthetical mode of construction."[4] This observation I have tested in the same plays, noting the introduction into the verse of parenthetical matter in the center of a clause. A few instances will perhaps best illustrate what I mean:

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[1] "A Letter on Shakspere's Authorship of *The Two Noble Kinsmen,*" reprinted in *NSST*, 1876.

[2] Only the scenes which Thorndike, Fleay, Oliphant, and Boyle have agreed in assigning to Fletcher: *The Maid's Tragedy*, II, ii; IV, i; V, i(*a*), ii (Thorndike's text); and *Philaster*, I, i(*b*); V, iii, iv.

[3] Thorndike dates the two plays 1615(?) and 1615–16(?).

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

Is a Wifes loss
(For her abuse much good may do his Grace,
I'll make as bold with his Wife, if I can)
More than the fading of a few fresh colours,
. . . . [*Valentinian*, III, i].
Come, chicken, let's go seek some place of strength
(The Countrey's full of Scouts) to rest a while in
[*Bonduca*, IV, ii].
Some little memory of me will stir him—
I know his noble nature—not to let
Thy hopeful service perish too: . . . . [*Henry VIII*, III, ii].

In the so-called Fletcherian parts of *Henry VIII*, there are seventeen such interruptions of the verse, an average of 1 to every 89.2 lines. Though the four such interruptions in *The Maid's Tragedy* raise the average in that play to 1 in 141, in the other plays the average is much smaller—in *Philaster* 1 to 171, in *Valentinian* 1 to 212.8, in *Bonduca* 1 to 254. 3, and in *The Faithful Shepherdess* even less.

Neither does an examination of non-stop lines in the plays indicate Fletcher's hand in *Henry VIII*. Furnivall's confirmation of Spedding, though it may, as I have said, indicate that the play was the work of two men, in no way suggests that one was Fletcher, for Furnivall gives no estimate of non-stop lines in Fletcher's plays. The interesting result of this test when applied to *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, *Bonduca*, and *Valentinian*, is not the final figures, though these do show differences. The proportion of non-stop lines in *Henry VIII* is 1 to every 3.85 lines; in *The Maid's Tragedy* 1 to every 4.90; in *Philaster* 1 to every 4.89; in *Bonduca* 1 to every 5.40; and in *Valentinian* hardly 1 to every 6. What I think striking about the test is that of the twelve scenes ascribed to Fletcher in *Henry VIII*, in only three is the proportion of run-on lines as small as 1 in 4, and of these three scenes two have only thirty-five and forty-one lines, respectively.[1] Of the forty-seven scenes, however, in the four other plays, there are but two in which the proportion is as large as 1 in 4, and each of these scenes is less than one hundred lines.[2]

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[1] The three scenes are III, i (184 lines); V, ii (35 lines); and V, iv (41 lines of verse).

[2] *Bonduca*, III, i (85 lines); V, ii (97 lines).

The most striking difference, however, between the style of *Henry VIII* and the style of Fletcher's plays lies in the repetition of words. Spalding was correct in his characterization of Fletcher as "diffuse both in his leading thought and in his illustrations. . . . . He amplifies, is elaborate, not vigorous."[1] The instances of the immediate repetition of the same word are in the non-Shaksperean parts of *Henry VIII* almost negligible—there are only eleven, while there are literally masses of such repetition in the other plays examined. There is more than twice as much repetition in the 590 lines of *The Maid's Tragedy* as in the 1,590 lines of *Henry VIII*, and there is almost three times as much in the 619 lines of *Philaster*. If we take merely that type of repetition which is most frequent in *Henry VIII*, we find the instances much more frequent in Fletcher. Of the eleven bits of repetition in *Henry VIII*, six consist of the repeating of the same word with a modifying word or phrase:

> O, very mad, exceeding mad, in love too [I, iv, 27].
> This is the cardinal's doing, the king-cardinal [II, ii, 20].
> Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness [III, ii, 351].
> . . . . a frost, a killing frost [III, ii, 355].
> O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden
> Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven [III, ii, 384–85].
> Was it discretion, lords, to let this man,
> This good man,—few of you deserve that title,—
> This honest man, wait like a lousy footboy [V, iii, 137–39].

The following table illustrates how much more often this type appears in the plays of Fletcher.

Maid's Tragedy	590	9	1 to every 65.5 lines
Philaster	619	10	1 to every 61.9 lines
Bonduca	2,294	35	1 to every 65.5 lines
Valentinian	2,765	21	1 to every 131.6 lines
Henry VIII	1,590	6	1 to every 265.0 lines

This table, it should be remembered, is merely for that type which represents 50 per cent of the repetition in *Henry VIII*. It is by no means true that the amount of repetition in that play is comparable to the amount in *Valentinian*, of which this type represents but a small fraction.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

I have, of course, applied but a few tests to but a few plays, but the tests have shown that between the non-Shaksperean portions of *Henry VIII* and certain of Fletcher's plays of about the same date, there are differences in the introduction of general truths and parenthetical constructions, and in the use of repetition and run-on lines. These stylistic differences, when considered with a use of sources unparalleled in Fletcher's plays, should, I feel, until the examination of more plays has shown other results, make us skeptical of Fletcher's participation in *Henry VIII*. They seem to show that the scenes assigned to Fletcher were not written by him alone "after his own fashion." They suggest that, if indeed he had a hand in the play at all, his participation was limited: either he was revising another's work, or the peculiarities of his style and method were modified by a collaborator.

A STAGE CARTOON OF THE MAYOR OF LONDON IN 1613

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Robert Tailor's play, *The Hogge hath lost his Pearle,* printed in 1614, bears on its title-page the statement that it was "divers times Publicely acted, by certaine London Prentices." Curiosity as to the occasion for this peculiar drama is roused by a mocking prologue which tells of the storm raised over the repeated attempts to act the play, and of its final allowance by the Master of the Revels on the ground that city vices, pride and fraud, are not much invected at:

> Our long-time-rumour'd Hog, so often cross'd
> By unexpected accidents, and toss'd
> From one house to another: still deceiving
> Many men's expectations, and bequeathing
> To some lost labour: is at length got loose,
> Leaving his servile yoke-stick to the goose;
> Hath a knight's license, and may range at pleasure,
> Spite of all those that envy our Hog's treasure.
> And thus much let me tell you, that our swine,
> Is not, as divers critics did define,
> Grunting at state-affairs, or invecting
> Much at our city vices; no, nor detecting
> The pride or fraud in it; but, were it now
> He had his first birth, wit should teach him how
> To tax these times' abuses, and tell some
> How ill they did in running oft from home;
> For to prevent (O men more hard than flint!)
> A matter, that shall laugh at them in print.

Though not printed until after the election of a new mayor of London, the play was probably, like others censored by Sir George Buc, re-worked so as to gloze over the critical purpose sufficiently to deceive or pacify the authorities. It was hoped, however, that the point would not be lost by all. The prologue, while formally protesting innocence, would be understood by the intelligent hearers or readers as a hint to look to city frauds for the special application.

It is possible that some contemporaries would need such a hint. As the play comes down to us, it is so flimsy and apparently so innocuous that several students of stage history have been inclined to clear it altogether from the charge of satirical intention. Mr. T. S. Graves, in his article, "The Political Use of the Stage during the reign of James I,"[1] says the drama is "to all appearances entirely harmless in content," and it is "difficult to see how even the seventeenth century could have detected in the story analogues to contemporary events." He explains the suppression as due to an unfortunate title and an inopportune time of acting (February 21, 1613), just at the close of the ceremonies celebrating the marriage (on February 14) of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine. There were rumors of riots and conspiracies, and London was in a state of general unrest. At such a time, Mr. Graves remarks, the play was capable of suggesting to the authorities that James was the Hog and his very popular daughter Elizabeth, the Pearl, who was lost to him by marrying the Elector.

While it is true that there had been for many years fairly overt criticism of James's traits and policies on the public stage in England, it seems unlikely that in this case it was seriously supposed by any that James himself was the Hog or Elizabeth the Pearl. The city authorities were doubtless right in recognizing the "swine" as Sir John Swinnerton, mayor of London, though they seem to have been stupid in certain details of the application. Sir Henry Wotton, on February 23, 1613, wrote to Sir Edmund Bacon:

> On Sunday last at night, and no longer, some sixteen Apprentices (of what sort you shall guess by the rest of the Story) having secretly learnt a new Play without Book, intituled The Hog hath lost his Pearl; took up the Whitefryers for their Theater; and having invited thither (as it should seem) rather their Mistresses than their Masters; who were all to enter *per buletini*, for a note of distinction from ordinary comedians, Towards the end of the Play the Sheriffs (who by chance had heard of it) came in (as they say) and carried some six or seven of them to perform the last act at Bridewell: the rest are fled. Now it is strange to hear how sharp-witted the City is, for they will needs have Sir John Swinnerton, the Lord Mayor, be meant by the Hog, and the late Lord Treasurer, by the Pearl.[2]

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[1] *Anglia*, XXXVIII (1914), 148–49.

[2] *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, 1865, pp. 402–3. For the date, see *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (ed., Logan P. Smith, 1907), II, 13.

This has been interpreted by some as denying the application to the Mayor. But Wotton was an ambassador, a diplomat skilled in indirection and allusion. It was, perhaps, better to attribute to the authorities themselves the recognition of such a cartoon of the Mayor. The irony of Wotton's remark on the sharp-wittedness of the City may be accounted for by the identification of the "pearl" with the late Lord Treasurer, with whom Swinnerton was known to have been in difficulties over a matter of some public interest shortly before this play. What this matter was, and who performed the play, and why, Wotton evidently expected Bacon to understand without much explanation.

The nature of the "pearl" lost by the avaricious "hog" becomes fairly clear from a study of a long-continued competition between the Mayor of London and the powerful company of farmers of the great customs for certain lucrative grants of patents on wines. In the reign of Elizabeth, Swinnerton had held some of these patents for a period of twelve years. But the farm of the imposts on French and Rhenish wines had been conferred upon the Earl of Devonshire (Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy), and by him sublet, at some time before 1607, to William Garway and Nicholas Salter. Salter had been, with Francis Jones, a farmer of the great customs; and these two became partners with William Garway in a new lease which made them the most general controllers of the customs. Garway and Salter owned land in many counties; and they became money-lenders to the King and to the aldermen. They were therefore hard to dislodge from royal favor. But on the death of the Earl of Devonshire, Swinnerton did attack the validity of the transferred lease, charging that the Crown had sustained great losses by it, and offering a higher rent himself.[1] A letter of February 13, 1607, shows that he had at least a promise of a revocation of the old patent and of a fresh grant to himself.[2] In September, 1608, he was certainly paying rent on French wines.[3] But apparently Garway and Salter continued to assume the validity of their patents. From the beginning of Swinnerton's mayoralty in 1612, he sought the aid of powerful courtiers and favorites, to get the King to annul

[1] *State Papers Domestic, James I*, Vol. XL (1603–10), art. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, art. 48.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, art. 45.

the grants to the farmers of the customs. The conflict came to its crisis, with the issue still undetermined, the month before *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearle* was acted, presumably at the instance of the enemies of Swinnerton to create sentiment against him.

The basis of the attack upon the Mayor's principles will appear from a summary of documents from the *State Papers Domestic.* In August, 1612, a statement was made of the losses that would be suffered if the offers of the farmers of the customs to pay £20,000 fine and £6,000 per annum increase of rent should be accepted.[1] And on September 3, the Earl of Northampton wrote to Viscount Rochester (then reputed to be James's most intimate adviser) that he hoped the King would "not be induced to believe the interested reports of those who favour the old farmers of the customs, nor to renew their grant, if even they offer as much as the new adventurers, seeing they do it of force. They are so angry at their tricks being discovered, that they attack Sir John Swinnerton's character."[2] Northampton then applied directly to the King (October 8), stating that the last two treasurers had, for their own advantage, farmed out the customs at too low a rate, and that, when Sir John Swinnerton offered a large advance for the third patent, "the late Lord Treasurer rated him soundly for it, and declared he should not have it, let his best friends in Court strain as they would."[3] As the great custom was now to be let to the best advantage, it was to be hoped that that of the wines would fall in.[4]

Lord Ellesmere also advised the King (October 11, 1612) that for eight years past there had been frauds in farming the customs; and that, even though the patentees for French and Rhenish wines had by "dunning" got a renewal of their particular lease, lawyers thought that it could be annulled by the King as having been obtained by fraud. Now that the customs lease had expired, an accounting for frauds was in order.[5]

Swinnerton attempted such an accounting, but without success. According to Winwood,

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXX (1611–18), art. 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXX, art. 63.

[3] The Treasurer's opposition to Swinnerton's claim was probably what made the city authorities confuse the lost "treasure" in the play with "the late Lord Treasurer."

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXI, art. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXI, art. 18.

> A day or two before Christmas the King himself gave a hearing to a controversie 'twixt the Farmers of the customes and Sir John Swinnerton now Lord Mayor who accused them of defrauding the King yearly of £70,000; but when it came to proof it could not be made good; so that they went away acquitted, and he not much condemned for seeking the King's benefit.[1]

In January, 1613, there was a lively competition for the favor of Rochester. The old farmers of the customs (Francis Jones, William Garway, John Wolstenholme, and Nicholas Salter) wrote to the King that they had proved themselves free from all fraud in their patent for French wines, and though they knew their patents to be good in law, they had "authorized Rochester to offer in their behalf an increase of rent of £3000 per annum."[2] On the first day of the same month, the Mayor offered to buy, for £1000 a year, Rochester's favor of his claim to farm the imposts on wines "which in the late Queen's time he had held for twelve years." He inclosed a formal proposition that he and his partners pay "for the tonnage and imposts on French and Rhenish wines £22,000 per annum, being an advance of £8,000 over the former rent, and £6,000 fine to be disposed of by the Visct. Rochester."[3] Garway and his partners countered with a proposition for an advance of £20,000 on the old rent for imposts on all wines and sole license of importing. Other offers followed: further advances in rent; allowances of wine for the King's household; and cash payment for confirmation of the patents on French wines.[4] The case dragged on. In June, the King ordered the profits on French and Rhenish wines temporarily sequestered while the charge of fraud in securing the patents was tried out by law.[5] But finally, "by the aid of Sir Lionel Cranfield and the favor of sweet Rochester," as Northampton wrote to Rochester, the old holders of the patents came off best and were "boasting of their victory."[6]

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[1] *Memorials of Affairs of State* (1725), III, 422. Cf. also a letter of Isaac Wake to Carleton, December 25, 1612, *S. P. Dom. Jas. I*, Vol. LXXI (1611–18), art. 68, and a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton, December 31, 1612 (*ibid.*).

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII, art. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, art. 1.

[4] See *ibid.*, Vol. LXXI, art. 21; Vol. LXXIV, arts. 6 and 7.

[5] See *ibid.*, Vol. LXXIV, art. 8, on the case, The King *vs.* William Garway, Nicholas Salter, *et al.*

[6] *Ibid.*, art. 36.

Clearly, Swinnerton's charges of fraud failed to secure for him the much-coveted patents on French and Rhenish wines. On September 13, 1613, he wrote to Rochester begging for prolongation of the lease he did secure "in return for his services in discovery of the frauds in that of the French and Rhenish wines, the farm of which he failed to obtain, his Majesty having compounded with the former farmers."[1] Swinnerton was himself made the object of counter-charges of fraud in his manipulation of the sweet wines patents. On January 5, 1613, a formal statement was made of "the fraudulent conduct of Sir John Swinnerton in reference to his lease of the farm of sweet wines, in shifting an unfair proportion of his rent on to the new imposts, which are now in mortgage to the city of London, and which he, being Mayor, takes care shall not be redeemed."[2].

This particular accusation seems to have inspired the conception of the Mayor of London in the title rôle of *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*, which was performed by apprentices, about five weeks later, before a specially invited audience.

The curiously conglomerate nature of the play suggests a hasty assembling of stock materials which could be readily combined to satirize the Mayor's greed. The main line of action, realistic and comic,

> Will relate how this great bird was pull'd
> Of his rich feathers and most finely gull'd.[3]

The "gulling" or "plucking" of this bird is the tale of the undoing of a greedy usurer, the "Hog," through his own unbounded avarice. To this *motif* is added (by what may be called an act of violence in plot construction) a quite incongruous romantic plot, a sentimental melodrama. It is the story of a villain, Albert, who betrays his best friend on the eve of his elopement (leaving a ring by which the girl later discovers his identity). He repents at once, and exiles himself in the forest, where he laments his sin in long and painful lyrics. The wronged girl flees to the same wood, disguised as a page.

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[1] *Ibid.*, art. 57.

[2] Two varying copies of this charge are in the *S. P. Dom. Jas. I*, Vol. LXXII (1611–18), arts. 4 and 5.

[3] Robert Dodsley, *Old English Plays* (ed., Hazlitt, 1875), XI, 494. All following references are to the pages of this edition, lines being unnumbered.

Her attention is naturally attracted to the twenty-three lines of iambic pentameter, in which Albert is doomed to carve the story of his villainy and remorse on every tree. She instantly forgives him.

The frequent allusions to dramas of the day, the ludicrous intermingling of the two lines of action, and the farcically overdone romanticism of the minor plot suggest a secondary intention to burlesque recent plays upon the London stage. Such a secondary purpose, besides having an interest of its own, might be useful in throwing dust in the eyes of the authorities as to the main intention—to take sides in a contemporary controversy over a monopoly patent of much public interest.

If the play was intended to be burlesque, some features of it would seem to point at Dekker. He might reasonably be a target because he had, a few months before, composed a very flattering pageant for the celebration of Swinnerton's entrance on Lord Mayor's Day, entitled *Troia nova triumphans.*[1] Recognizable features of Dekker's work which might tempt to burlesque are: an ineffective combination of romantic or supernatural plot elements with the everyday realistic; sudden and somewhat unconvincing repentance of evil characters; a tendency to use miraculously easy resolutions; extreme lyricism, melodious plaints, and an occasional jarring effect in moving from smooth to rocky blank verse, or from verse to prose.

More specific resemblances appear in a rather unhappy effort of Dekker's, *If It Be Not Good, the Divel Is in It,* which was rejected at the Fortune, but performed, after slight revision, by the Queen's players at the Red Bull in 1612. The play is topical. It glances at all sorts of frauds and vice: at the essential weaknesses of a king who rather definitely resembles James I—a prey to favorites, unwarlike, given over to the pursuit of pleasure, suicidally weak in legislation, exposing the country to danger of foreign invasion encouraged by his own poor diplomacy and defects of character; at gross corruptions of religion in general, and at Catholics and Puritans in particular; at daily perversions of justice in the courts of law; and at unsound economic policies. The necessity of partial concealment of critical intentions accounts for the interweaving of fantastic incident and character, giving the effect of medley.

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[1] *Dramatic Works* (ed. Pearson, 1873), Vol. III. Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, I, 234.

There seems to be no evidence as to personal relations between Robert Tailor and Dekker beyond the mere fact that they had one friend in common, John Taylor the Water-Poet, for whose works both wrote commendatory verses. Tailor's verse is prefixed to *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*, 1614. In it he refers to his own work as of less repute than that of the Water-Poet. Little is known of Robert Tailor's life. The *D.N.B.* identification of him with the paraphraser of the psalms is not plausible.

Of the three interwoven threads of action, the main line concerns the undoing of the usurer merchant, Bartervile, who has bought his office in connection with the salt customs by outbidding his competitors. He complains because only 7,000 crowns are due him from the "salt tribute," but delights in the idea that no subject can eat a dish of meat without thereby contributing to the King (and incidentally to himself). When his villainy is made public, the King takes away his office, but immediately nullifies his own "justice" by bestowing the grant upon a false favorite and telling him to farm it as he pleases to the highest bidder. This economic policy was one of the rocks on which James split with the Commons in 1614, when a controversy of three years or more came to its crisis. Indeed, throughout the interval between James's first and his third Parliament, his opportunist policy as to monopolies was one of the most discussed questions.[1] Dekker, in order to make up for the inadequacies of his king in correcting of abuses, hustles all the worst sinners off to hell in flames. The usurer monopolist, Bartervile, is there condemned to stretch out his hands for his gold, which has become "air, shadows, and things imaginary."

The chief resemblance between Dekker's *If It Be Not Good, the Divel Is in It* and *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearle* is in the prominence given to the punishment of the usurer. In view of the long run of popularity of the usurer upon the Elizabethan stage,[1] it would be unsafe to infer that Tailor was copying Dekker were it not for some detailed resemblances. In both plays a fraudulent holder of a contemporary monopoly is the usurer. He is visited by two gentlemen whom he will not permit to redeem their lands. *The Hog* also resembles Dekker's play in the employment of infernal spirits ascending and descending, accompanied by flashes of fire; in the character of the spirit of Croesus, whose mission on earth corresponds to that of Dekker's spirit of gold, Glitterback;[2] and in the use of the old echo device. If to these specific resemblances we add the lyricism of certain passages, the overdone romanticism of the secondary plot, and the fantastic effect of the combination of such incongruous materials, it seems fairly probable that Dekker's recent play was being parodied by borrowing its general method to attack a man whom he had praised.[3]

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[1] Histories of the salt industry would seem to imply that the revocation of the notorious Wilkes monopoly by Elizabeth in 1601 put an end to that abuse until the reign of Charles I. But among the undated papers that have been placed before May 24, 1612 (on internal evidence), is a warrant to the Attorney-General to draw a license "[to . . . Radzivill?]" for "the sole making and importing of bay salt for thirty-one years." (*S. P. Dom. Jas. I.* Vol. LXIX, art. 49). The bay salt was that made in southern France at the Baie de Bourgneuf, a staple of the Hanseatic trade. It would perhaps be too hazardous to suggest that this alien monopolist (Radzivill?) might be Dekker's Bartervile; but the warrant at least shows that the salt monopoly was still a live issue.

Whether the usurer in Tailor's play resembles that in Dekker's non-extant *Jew of Venice* (*S.R.*, 1653), there is no evidence. He does conform in a general way to the type seen in *The Merchant of Venice* and that in *The Rich Jew of Malta*, especially in his alternate lamentation of the loss of his silver, gold, and jewels, and that of his only daughter Rebecca. The quick-witted gallant has stolen her away, together with her father's treasure, for the sake of his soul, "almost incurable of avarice."

The Hog has planned to marry Rebecca to Lord Wealthy, a blockhead nobleman who is nothing but by inheritance. "As I am a lord," his favorite asseveration, appears on every possible pretext. He is to inherit his father's place as statesman; and, being feeble-minded himself, he mistakes Carracus, when crazed with grief, for another statesman because he "understands not what he speaks." There are other minor satires of types among the lesser characters, as, for example, Peter Servitude, the servant. In employing these type sketches and abstract names, the playwright followed a fashion of the stage about 1612, as in Dekker's *If It Be Not Good*, in *Greene's Tu Quoque*, and Field's *A Woman Is a Weathercock*. But the use of the name descriptive of the chief trait fitted neatly into his purpose of individual satire in that it would suggest to the audience to look for a name that would sound suitable for the hog, "*our swine*."

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[1] The usurer is a stock character, dating back at least to the Middle Ages. "Characters" and drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries testify to his continued popularity. In 1579, Gosson, in his *Schoole of Abuse*, wrote of a play, *The Jew*, as "representing the greediness of worldly chusers and bloody minds of usurers" (Shak. Soc. Pub., XII, 30). Among the Elizabethan plays of usurers are *Wily Beguiled*, *Englishmen for My Money*, and *Greene's Tu Quoque*—the last being current on the stage when *The Hog* was performed, but showing no special similarity.

[2] In physical appearance, however, Glitterback harks back to Peele's Golden Head. Peele's use of the echo may also have influenced Dekker.

[3] Fleay would have Haddit, who is a hack writer of dramas and jigs, represent Dekker, as a "gentleman whom it hath pleased fortune to make her tennis-ball." It is true that Dekker did sign himself "Gentleman"; that the Fortune had recently rejected a play of his; and that he wrote "Fortune's Tennis;" so that the description is rather suggestive, verbally. But aside from being in need of money and doing hack dramatic work, Dekker does not much remind one of Haddit. If there is personal satire here, it is mild, especially if one considers Haddit's final success.

The Hog's antagonist is a victim from whom he kept a "farm," or "mortgage," preventing its redemption. He is called Haddit, but is not always to be thought of in the past tense:

> I am that spark, sir, though now raked up in ashes:
> Yet when it pleaseth fortunes chaps to blow
> Some gentler gale upon me, I may then
> From forth of embers, rise and shine again.[1]

The Hog dominates the play. He is Avarice personified—an unscrupulous usurer and a mortgage fancier. In long lyric soliloquies, he gloats over his heaps of treasure. But his avarice knows no rest. Burning with desire to turn silver into gold, gold into pearl, he falls easy prey to Haddit's friend, Lightfoot, who, impersonating the shade of Croesus, gulls him with the promise of infinite increase of riches.

The "spirits" are a reminder of Dekker's evil spirits; but there is probably in Tailor's play a punning intention—to let them stand for the fermented wines which the Hog wished to have working for his profit. Dekker's usurer, Bartervile, has a cellar, which is needed for plot purposes. The Hog, too, has his cellar, not at all necessary for the plot, yet figuring prominently in Acts III and V. It is a wine cellar. There are also several sly allusions to the usurer's making money by the aid of powerful spirits. Haddit schemes with the daughter Rebecca (Act III, p. 467) to "make a way that we ascend up like spirits." Accordingly, there is a flash of fire (Act V, p. 485) and Lightfoot ascends "like a spirit." He then proceeds to gull the Hog with his plan for increase of wealth:

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[1] Act I, scene 1, p. 430.

> Stand then undaunted whilst I raise those spirits,
> By whose laborious task and industry
> Thy treasure shall abound and multiply.

Again he assures the Hog,

> Great Croesus' ghost shall, in the love he bears thee,
> Give thee sufficient power by thy own worth
> To raise such spirits.

Hog ruminates upon the great Croesus' being now so kindly disposed:

> I would he had been so sooner, for he and his spirits would have saved me much labour in the purchasing of wealth; but then indeed it would have been the confusion of two or three scriveners which, by my means, have been properly raised.[1]

This may be a hit at the Mayor's efforts to purchase wine grants.

Throughout the play there is a pronounced emphasis upon one aspect of the Hog's usury—the fact that he is a mortgage fancier. He is early introduced in this character (Act I, p. 432), where Haddit implores his friend: "Help me but to some means, and I'll redeem my mortgaged lands with a wench to boot." A little later (p. 433) he says: "We'll to the usurer, where you shall offer some slight piece of land to mortgage." In Act II (p. 455) Lightfoot inquires: "When do you intend to go yonder to Covetousness the usurer, that we may see how near your plot will take for the releasing of your mortgaged lands?" In the same act (p. 446) the Hog is pictured as gloating over his mortgages to his servant, Peter Servitude. After remarking on Rebecca's preference for the prodigal suitor, Haddit, he exclaims, "But I praise my stars she went without him, though I did not without his lands. 'Twas a rare mortgage, Peter." When Lightfoot gets hold of the Hog's treasure (Act V, p. 490), he contemplates taking his nephew's mortgage, but refrains lest the identity of the thieves be thus revealed. In the end, by a miraculous reform, the Hog is made to give back his mortgaged lands to Haddit, and to abhor all avarice. The reform is not convincing. The point of the play is not this, but the gulling and fleecing of a hard, avaricious usurer, who has made his wealth by fraud and who, as a holder of mortgages, has used his power unfairly and prevented their redemption. This conception of the chief character is a striking reminder of the formal charges made against the Mayor on January 5, 1613, with regard to his "fraudulent" conduct of the farm of sweet wines: the exaction of usurious rents from the new imposts, and the misuse of official power in preventing the mortgages of these imposts to the city of London from being redeemed. There may also be in Act III (pp. 466–67) a suggestion of the Mayor's long and repeated reckonings of exact sums which, he charged, were fraudulently secured by the old farmers of the customs at the expense of the Crown. Hog assures Lightfoot, "Tomorrow your money shall be rightly told up for you to a penny." Lightfoot answers, "I pray, let it, and that your man may set contents upon every bag." Haddit puts in, aside, "Indeed, by that we may know what we steal, without the labour for the telling on't over." Then, turning to his companion, "How now, gentlemen, are ye agreed upon the price of this earth and clay?" The Hog replies, "Yes, faith, Master Haddit, the gentleman your friend here makes me pay sweetly for't; but let it go. I hope to inherit heaven, if it be but for doing gentlemen pleasure." The long dickering and enforced running up of the price of the "farm" by competitive bids, and the Mayor's payment of a large sum of money for the "farm" he did get, together with his use of the nobility to help in his enterprise, may here be glanced at.

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[1] Act V, pp. 485–88.

While the Hog does not differ from the rich Jew of Malta in his wish to convert his treasure into more precious gems, there is clearly a further intention in the emphasis upon the transformation of Hog's wealth into "orient pearl." Lightfoot, in the guise of the spirit of Croesus, describes that King's castle "decked within with oriental pearls" (p. 486), and again (p. 489) exhorts Hog:

> Now, mortal, there is nothing doth remain
> 'Twixt thee and thine abundance, only this:
> Turn thy eyes eastward, for from thence appears
> Ascarion with thy gold, which having brought
> And at thy foot surrender'd, make obeisance;
> Then turn about, and fix thy tapers westward,
> From whence great Bazan brings thy orient pearl:
> Who'll lay it at thy feet much like the former.

By virtue of his office as Mayor, Swinnerton had been conspicuous in the lavish entertainment of the Count Palatine from the time of his arrival in the autumn of 1612.[1] But just one week before the play was performed, i.e., on the morning of February 14, 1613, according to Arthur Wilson, "the city of London (that with high magnificence had feasted the Prince Palatine, and his noble Retinue) presented to the fair Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, by the hand of the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen (in their Scarlet and Gold Chain Accoutrements) of such a value, as was fit for them to give, and her to receive."[2] The city records are quoted by John Nichols to show that for this chain of pearl "two thousand pounds were paid by the Chamberlain unto the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties most honorable Houshould."[3]

The recency and publicity of this ceremony would make it difficult to miss the application to the Mayor, Lord Swinnerton. It also made it unnecessary for Henry Wotton to explain (in the letter to Bacon quoted above) his reference to the sharp-witted city authorities. In their attempt to identify the "pearl," or "treasure" lost, they could think of nothing fitter than the late Lord Treasurer, who had been lined up against the Mayor in his effort to secure the patents on French and Rhenish wines. Sharper-witted persons familiar with the situation would understand that the treasure lost was neither a pearl nor a Treasurer, but the "farm" of certain fermented wines which the Mayor overreached himself in grasping for, thus losing the aid of these "powerful spirits" in amassing further treasure to add to the heaps of his gain from the sweet wines patent. The use of pearl as the final form of the usurer's wealth is natural enough, to typify a miser's pride of wealth, a Croesus vein; but it probably served a very specific purpose of suggestion. The usurer monopolist who grasped for other people's "farms" and who coveted the aid of the powerful spirits to make him a second Croesus must not be mistaken for an old type sketch. Hence the title, with its name

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[1] See a letter of Chamberlain to Carleton, November 13, 1612, describing the Mayor's feasting of the Count Palatine and presenting him with costly gifts, in John Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, II, 467.

[2] *The History of Great Britain: Being the Life and Reign of King James I*, 1653, p. 64.

[3] *Progresses of James I*, 1828, II, 553.

"Hog" to suggest Swinnerton, and its "pearl," to assure the audience that he is indeed the man, because he had publicly presented the King's daughter with two thousand pounds' worth of oriental pearls just one week before this play was acted.

The play *The Hogge Hath Lost His Pearle* is negligible as drama unless considered as burlesque, but it throws some light upon the mixture of daring and cunning with which writers proceeded to make special application of stock dramatic materials in order to criticize, under cover, the frauds of high officials when such satire was forbidden on the London stage.

JONSON IN THE JEST BOOKS

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Professor Gregory Smith recently made the statement[1] that Ben Jonson was "the victim of two jest-book ventures: *Penkethman's Jests* and *Ben Johnson's Jests,* both reprinted several times"; much earlier W. C. Hazlitt asserted that "a great portion of the pleasantries and witticisms reported of Jonson do not seem to be of higher antiquity than the middle of the last century."[2] As the following pages will show, both of these statements are far from the truth. In the first place, Jonson was the victim of many jest books (not *Penkethman's Jests,* however), and accordingly takes his place alongside such heroes of jest-book literature as Tarleton, Scogan, Quin, Garrick, and others; in the second place, a large majority of the jests about Jonson had arisen before the middle of the last century when the first edition of *Ben Johnson's Jests* appeared.[3]

It was of course inevitable that in the seventeenth century a large number of anecdotes should have sprung up around, or attached themselves to, a name so prominent and influential as Jonson's; for, as all students of jest-book literature know, witticisms are often assigned "by inference and likelihood," to use Hazlitt's words; that is, they are credited to a person not because he uttered them but because he *might* have done so.[4] Jonson was famous among his contemporaries for his apothegms and bright sayings; hence it is quite likely that many of the sayings attributed to him go back to the first half of the seventeenth century and were passed along by word of mouth for many years before they were caught up by a jest-book compiler. Certain it is that several anecdotes apparently of reputable origin were never incorporated in the printed volumes of these gentlemen[1] prior to 1730.

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[1] *Ben Jonson,* p. 4, n. 1.

[2] Preface to *The New London Jest Book,* 1871, pp. ix–x.

[3] Hazlitt, *Handboook,* p. 131, dates this edition *ca.* 1740. Lowndes, *Bibliographer's Manual,* V, 1203 and 1232, lists *Ben Jonson's Jests; or, the Wits Pocket Companion,* 1731, and *Ben Jonson's Jests,* 1732.

[4] *Studies in Jocular Literature,* p. 12.

Among the early jests are several which would seem to contradict Fuller's well-known account of the wit bouts between Jonson and Shakspere and the story in MS 38 of *Ashmole Papers* (cf. no. *f* under note above) to the effect that Jonson was a "slow thing." First in point of time is the rare one of the retort to an impertinent

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[1] The following anecdotes, so far as I have observed, did not appear in early printed jest books:

a) Edmund Gayton's illustration of Jonson's patriotism (*Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 21).

b) Anecdote of Jonson's being made drunk by Raleigh's son and exposed to the view of Sir Walter, which appears in Drummond of Hawthornden's *Conversations* (Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, III, 483) and in Oldys's manuscript additions to Langbaine (cf. Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*, ed. 1815, III, col. 612), where it is said Oldys got the anecdote from a "MS memorandum book, written at the time of the civil wars by Mr. Oldisworth, who was secretary, I think, to Philip Earl of Pembroke." Also referred to by Dr. Plume, *ca.* 1680 (*Essex Review*, XIV, 17) in his "pocket-book."

c) Aubrey's story that Jonson, who was the "son" of John Hoskins, replied as follows to Sir Bennet Hoskins on his application to be made a "son of Ben": "No, 'tis honour enough for me to be your brother; I am your father's son, 'twas he that polished me, I doe acknowledge it" (*Brief Lives* [ed., Clark], II, 12).

d) Joshua Poole's anecdote in Preface to the *English Parnassus* (ed. 1677—1st ed. dates 1657): "Some in Mr. *Johnson's* time, vainly attempted to write an Heroick poem, in imitation of the *Greeks* and *Latines*, by the measures of *Spondey* and *Dactyl*, without any regard to rythm. Of that number was he, who sent him a coppy of verses beginning thus, *Bēnjămĭn īmmŏrtāl Jōhnsōn môst hīghlĭe rĕnòwnēd.*"

e) "A Grace by Ben Johnson, extempore, before King James," which appeared in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* ([ed., Clark], II, 14) and was copied in *The Laughing Philosopher*, 1825, p. 444.

f) The jest in which Shakspere calls Jonson a "slow thing" in an extemporal epitaph, which Cunningham (Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, I, xxxi, n. 3) says comes from *Ashmole Papers*, MS 38. A somewhat different version is given in Dr. Plume's "pocket-book" (*Essex Review*, XIV, 15).

g) Mr. Hales's remark to the honor of Shakspere at Jonson's expense. Cf. Bradley and Adams's *Jonson Allusion-Book*, p. 187.

h) No. 11 in Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's *Merry Passages and Jests* (Thoms, *Anecdotes and Traditions*, p. 2), the well-known anecdote of Shakspere's giving twelve "Lattin Spoones" to Ben's child, which occurs in Henry Kett's *Flowers of Wit* (ed. 1825), II, 29, and in various discussions of Shakspere. Note the different version given by Dr. Plume (*Essex Review*, XIV, 15).

i) Sir Nicholas L'Estrange's story of Bishop Corbet's pun at Jonson's expense (Thoms, *Anecdotes and Traditions*, pp. 29–30). Quoted by Ryan, *Dramatic Table Talk*, I, 155.

j) Jonson and highwayman. Cf. Bradley and Adams's *Jonson Allusion-Book*, pp. 307, 383.

k) Chetwood in his *Memoirs of the Life and Writing of Ben Jonson*, 1756, quotes the following from "Slips of Parnassus": "It is certain *Ben* lived several Years on the *Surey Side* of the *Thames*, and, often crossing the Water, he got acquainted with inquisitive who asked on what passage out of Homer the "Father of our English Poets" was meditating.[1] Ben replied that he was meditating on a more worthy subject—"the 9 verse of the 39 Psalme which, as I remember," says the author of the jest book, "is to this purpose":

> For all the sinnes that I have done
> Lord quit me out of hand,
> And make me not a scorne to fooles
> That nothing understand.

Much better known is the smutty story of Jonson and Sylvester, which appeared as No. 336 of *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jests*, 1660:

> These two notable and famous Poets endeavoured to out-vy each other in the making onely one (and that best and truest) Verse, which was thus ended:
>
> I Silvester lay with thy Sister.
> I Ben Johnson lay with thy wife.

Taylor the *Water* Poet, so called from his Employment (a Water-man). The first time, it is said, Taylor got him in his boat, he addressed him thus *extempore*.

"Taylor
"'I am told, by my Boy, thou art *Jonson* the Poet;
If true, an *Epigram*, quickly, to shew it:
I tell thee I'm Taylor that plies near the Strand,
A Poet by *Water*, as thou art by *Land*.'"

"Ben's Answer, without Hesitation:
"'A Poet by *Water* can never be *fired;*
By the Juice of the Grape the Muse is inspired:
Yet thy aiming at Wit deserveth some Praise;
But *Water* ne'er nourish'd the Laurel or Bays.'"

l) Verses by Jonson and Shakspere on the Globe Theater motto in William Oldys' *Adversaria* (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 2d ser., XI, 184).

m) Dr. Plume's notebook (written *ca.* 1680) contains the following anecdotes which seem not to have been utilized by jest-book makers:

i. "Ben Johnson used to walk with a truncheon cane, and meeting an old comrade in the streets, who had been a long time absent, fell a-bastinadoing him, chiding him because he had put him to discipline now he was grown old and not so able as when he was young."

ii. "Ben Johnson borrowed 50 *li*, and paid it again. Afterwards he would have borrowed 100 *li*, but the gentleman told him: You have deceived me once and never shall again."

iii. "*You thing like a thing like a man*, said Ben Johnson to Inigo Jones, when he dared not call him Jack-an-Apes" (*Essex Review*, XIV, 17).

[1] *A Banquet of Jests*, 1657, p. 139. This jest does not seem to have been assigned to Jonson in later books. I am assuming that the reference is to Jonson rather than Chaucer. A somewhat similar story was told of Thomas Randolph as early as 1647. Cf. Hazlitt's ed. of Randolph, I, xi.

Whereupon Silvester told him that was not a right Verse. O! quoth Ben. Johnson, but it is true.[1]

T. S.'s *Fragmenta Aulica*, 1662, contains[2] Jonson's more decent remark about King James I's "twenty-two shilling" pieces, called "Jacobusses." These coins, it should be recalled, bore the King's head adorned with a crown, while the "twenty shillings" pieces issued later substituted the laurel for a crown. Because poets are poor, said Ben, bays were emblems of wit rather than wealth, "since King James no sooner began to wear them, but he fell two shillings in the pound in publique valuation." W. Hicks's *Oxford Jests*, 1684, contains[3] Jonson's better-known remark on accidentally stumbling *literally* into the company of a drinking party: "I did not intend to have intruded myself, but being so accidentally fallen into your company I am resolved to drink with you before I go." Jonson's remark to the misers, who one morning came into the tavern when the poet was recovering from the effects of a night of drinking, does not seem to have occurred in many jest books though it appeared at least as early as 1703.[4] "Now Mr. *Johnson* (by reason of his draught)," writes D'Urfey, "spitting very dry, it lay white and round like a Penny; which one of the Misers perceiving, and imagining it to be a piece of Silver, stoop'd to take it up, which Mr. *Johnson* seeing, said unto him, *Nay, pray, Sir, do not rob the Spittle.*" So far as I have observed, the very popular story of Jonson's visit, on invitation, to Lord Craven's house appeared first in the 1739 edition of *Joe Miller's Jests*, though[5] it was probably in print before that date. Being shabbily dressed, Ben was refused admittance by the porter. During the discussion, Lord Craven happened to enter and also failed to recognize the poet. "No, no, quoth my Lord, you cannot be Ben Johnson who wrote the *Silent Woman*, you look as if you could not say *Bo* to a Goose: *Bo,* cry'd Ben, very well, said my Lord, who was better pleas'd at the Joke than offended at the Affront, I am now convinced, by your Wit, you are Ben Johnson."

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[1] Also occurs as No. 179 in H. C.'s *England's Jests Refin'd and Improv'd*, 1693; No. 227 in Ferdinando Killigrew's *The Compleat Universal Jester*, 1769; in *The Female Jester*, 1771–78, "compiled by a Lady," p. 67.

[2] Pp. 41–42. The jest was used by Hazlitt in *The New London Jest Book*, 1871.

[3] No. 518. Incorporated in Winstanley's *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, 1686, p. 124, and *The Female Jester*, 1771–78, p. 64.

[4] No. 125 in Thomas D'Urfey's *Apollo's Feast*.

[5] No. 45. It occurs also in *The Sports of the Muses*, II (1752), 308; *Wits Museum; or the New London Jester. A New Edition*, 1780 (?), pp. 29–30; *Quick's Whim; or, the Merry Medley*, 1795, p. 53; Ralph Wewitzer's *The School for Wits*, 1815, pp. 210–11.

Another phase of Jonson's wit frequently met with in early jest books is his ability at extemporal verses. Of this type are his verses on the Half-moon and Sun taverns told by Winstanley[1] and repeated as No. 181 in H. C's *England's Jests Refin'd and Reform'd,* 1693. Having been one night denied passage through the Moon, he was fortunate enough to be allowed to pass through the Sun on his way home. He extemporized thus on the experience:

Since that the Moon was so unkind to make me go about,
The Sun henceforth shall take my Coin, the Moon shall go without.

At least as early as 1684, when it appeared in *London Jests,*[2] the epitaph on the wealthy but unpraiseworthy heir aged forty-two had been credited to Ben:[3]

Here lies a man was Born, and Cryed,
Told Two and Forty years, and dyed.

The same book[4] has Jonson's extemporal verses sent to Attorney-General Noy on the occasion of a venison dinner given by that worthy in a tavern where Jonson and some of his companions happened to be drinking. Desiring some of the venison, Ben sent Noy the verses:

When all the World was drown'd,
No Venison could be found;
For then there was no Pork:
Lo, here we sit
Without e're a bit,
Noy has it all in his Ark.

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[1] *Lives of the Most Famous Poets,* 1686, p. 124.

[2] Part III, No. 37. It is also No. 231 in Killigrew's *The Compleat Universal Jester,* 1769.

[3] The jest is No. 9 of *The Pleasant Conceites of Old Hobson the Merry Londoner,* 1607, compiled by Richard Johnson. Since most of the anecdotes in this work were stolen, it is probable that the epitaph goes back to a time long prior to 1607.

[4] Part III, No. 66, p. 126. Also found as No. 180 in H. C.'s *England's Jests Refin'd and Reform'd,* 1693, and No. 228 of F. Killigrew's *Compleat Universal Jester,* 1769. Dr. Plume records a somewhat different version of this jest about 1680 (*Essex Review,* XIV, 17).

Noy was so well pleased that he sent Ben a good "corner of a pastry" and a dozen bottles of sack to wash it down with. Jonson's verses to the vintner to whom he owed money certainly appeared in print before their appearance in *Ben Jonson's Jests,* though I cannot at the present prove their existence in jest books before 1730. The anecdote, which is a very popular one,[1] represents the vintner as saying to Jonson that unless he answered satisfactorily four questions —what best pleases God, the devil, the world, and the vintner himself—he must either pay his bill or go to jail. Jonson's rhyme was eminently pleasing to his creditor:

God is best pleas'd when Man forsakes his Sin;
The Devil's best pleas'd when Man persists therein;
The World's best pleas'd when you do draw good Wine,
And you'll be pleas'd when I do pay for mine.

As might be expected, Jonson does not always figure as the chief author of a witticism. Sometimes he inspires wit in others at the expense of himself. Perhaps of this nature may be regarded the bits of fun resulting from Ben's calling his plays *works.* Number 258 of *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jests,* 1660, tells of the gentleman who drew his pencil through the title of the folio edition of Jonson's works and added the couplet:

These are Ben Johnson's *Workes,* the Printer says:
Printer thou ly'st, They are Ben Johnson's Plays.[2]

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[1] Hazlitt, *Studies in Jocular Literature,* pp. 105–7, compares No. 57 of *Merry Tales and Quick Answers,* 1567, writing that apparently a copy of this early jest book had "fallen into Jonson's way, and that he wished to reproduce a drollery which tickled his fancy, and more or less suited his case." It is of course more probable that some jest-maker adapted the old story to Jonson, whom he regarded capable of the rhyme. The anecdote also appears in Killigrew's *Compleat Universal Jester,* 1769, No. 230; *The Laughing Philosopher,* 1825, p. 112; Henry Kett's *Flowers of Wit,* 1825, I, 112; *Mirth in Miniature,* 1825, p. 108; Hazlitt's *New London Jest Book,* 1871, No. 11.

[2] Note that Winstanley, Preface to *England's Worthies* (ed. 1684), p. *a* verso, has: "like *Ben. Johnson,* who to one that told him of his Oyl and his Lamp, the pains he took before his births, those happy abstracts of the humours and manners of men, gave this answer, *That his were Works, the other printed things for the Stage were but Playes.*" Much earlier, it should be noted, Thomas Heywood had said that his own "Plays are not exposed unto the world in Volumes to bear the title of *Workes* (as others)." It should be also noted that the point to an early reference to Shakspere was evidently inspired by Jonson's innovation in calling his plays works. Cf. No. 194 of *Conceits, Clinches, Flashes, and Whimzies,* 1639, which reoccurs as No. 391 of *Jocabella,* 1640, and as No. 228 of *A Choice Banquet of Witty Jests,* 1660.

Very familiar is the story of Jonson and Randolph, which appears in H. C.'s *England's Jests Refin'd and Improv'd*, 1693,[1] and various other similar works. Coming up to London, Randolph entered the Devil Tavern, where Jonson was drinking in the company of Daniel, Drayton, and Sylvester. "Come in, John Bopeep," exclaimed Ben, who saw Randolph hesitating to enter. Shortly afterward Randolph evened scores by reciting the following lines in compliance with the agreement that the composer of the best extempore verses should be excused from paying his part of the bill:

I John Bopeep, *to you four Sheep,*
With each one his good Fleece:
If you are willing to pay your five Shilling,
'Tis fifteen Pence apiece.

Apparently suggested by the anecdote above is the indecent one contained in *The Way to be Witty* (pp. 14–15) incorporated in W. B.'s *Ingenii Fructus; or the Cambridge Jests*, 1700:

> *Ben Johnson* the Famed Poet, being in very ordinary Company, and poor too, as it seems, for they could not pay the Reckoning (which was but small) though they muster'd all their Forces, so *Ben.* made a Proposal to them, that he who should make the worst Verse or Rhimes amongst them, should pay the whole, thinking by this he had made a pretty good Bargain, at least for himself, because he was in his Profession, and they all plain honest Country Fellows, so they began; *Ben.* first, who [*sic*] Poetry pleased them all, says the next.
>
> *We eat, we Drink, we . . . . , we Stink, and all to Ease us,*
> *Then Sits Ben. Johnson, and Swears 'tis good by Jesus.*
>
> Which being *Ben's* Oath, and the Rhime good, so pleas'd the Old Blade, that he swore by Jesus he would pay all the Reckoning, and so he did.

Let us not inquire too closely how he paid all the reckoning. Suffice it to say that a very popular jest cited above explains one method he employed in settling reckonings under difficulties. Jonson was similarly good-natured on receiving the retort of the rustic who insisted on talking about his farm affairs in Ben's presence. "Why, thou Clod," exploded Jonson, "why dost thou mingle thy dirty Discourse with our Sublime Fancies? I tell thee, *For every Acre thou hast of land, I*

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[1] No. 178. No. 229 in Killigrew's *Compleat Universal Jester*, 1769; No. 1107 in 1832 edition of *Joe Miller's Jests;* No. 953 in Hazlitt's *The New London Jest Book*, 1871. Cf. Hazlitt's interesting argument, *Studies in Jocular Literature*, pp. 98–99, against the trustworthiness of this jest.

have ten Acres of Wit. Have you so, Sir," replied the rustic, "I cry you mercy, good Mr. Wise-Acre." Ben was so "highly taken" with the retort that "he swore he was never so prick'd by a Hobnail in all his Life time."[1]

That Jonson, whose reputation as a lover of wine and as the author of *Leges Conviviales* was immense,[2] should have been associated with conviviality in the jest books was inevitable; it is surprising that he did not figure more prominently in this respect. As a matter of fact, I have noted only one jest of the seventeenth century in which the point can be said to depend entirely upon Ben's fondness for drink, and that is not a very witty one: "One was friendly telling *Benjamin Johnson* of his great and excessive drinking continually. Heres a greivous clutter and talk quoth *Benjamin* concerning my drinking, *but heres not a word of that thirst which so miserably torments me day and night.*"[3]

All the anecdotes above, with the possible exception of the account of Jonson's visit to Lord Craven, were in print before the appearance, about 1730, of the first edition of *Ben Johnson's Jests.* I have been unable to consult some of the jest books that appeared prior to that date; hence it is certain that jests other than those mentioned above were in print before the middle of the eighteenth century, while it is also certain that other jests about Ben circulated without being caught up by the compilers of jokes.[4] Now of the twelve jests about

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[1] Thomas D'Urfey's *Apollo's Feast*, 1703, No. 96. This very popular jest also appears in *The Universal Jester*, 1718, No. 76; *Complete London Jester*, 1765, p. 71; Killigrew's *The Compleat Universal Jester*, 1769, No. 316; *Wit's Museum, or the New London Jester*, 1780(?), p. 94; H. Bennet's *Treasury of Wit*, II (1787), 140; *Merryfield's Jests*, 1795, p. 21; *Grineology; or New Merry Jester*, 1800(?); Ralph Wewitzer's *The School for Wit*, 1815, pp. 140–1, *The Spirit of English Wit* (5th ed., 1818), p. 67. Dr. Plume as early as about 1680 had heard a somewhat different version of this jest (cf. *Essex Review*, XIV, 17).

[2] Note the extravagant remark (Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, I, clxxxviii, note) that the stories of Jonson's conviviality were created largely by the mistaken enthusiasm of his "sons." A "thousand songs and invocations," says Cunningham, were made associating Jonson and his skull with wine. Among the host of references to Jonson's love for wine, the passage purporting to be taken from an "ancient MS preserved at Dulwich College" and printed in *The Laughing Philosopher*, 1825, should be, I think, the most interesting to present-day Americans (p. 521).

[3] T. S.'s *Fragmenta Aulica*, 1662, pp. 99–100.

[4] Cf. p.128, note, above and the words of Langbaine in his *Account of the English Dramatick Poets*, 1691, p. 286.

Jonson which appear in the sixth (1760) and seventh (1761) editions of *Ben Johnson's Jests*—I have not had access to earlier editions—five,[1] so far as I have observed, had not appeared in print. These carry on the tradition of Jonson as wit and maker of extemporal verses. They will be given in the order of their appearance. On being sent some fish by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who failed to send drink, too, Ben wrote the lines:

In a Dish came Fish
From the Arch Bish - -
Hop was not there,
Because there was no Beer.[2]

The second reverses the surprise sprung on Ben by the "honest country fellow" told in W. B.'s *Ingenii Fructus* cited above. Clothed in country habit, Ben entered a Southwark inn where some drinking wits proposed a rhyming contest in which the poorest author should pay the entire bill. Ben's contribution, to the surprise of his hearers, read thus:

Good Ale, Tobacco, and a pretty Wench,
Will bring a Man to the King's Bench,
And after he has spent all,
Then take him, Sir John Lent'all.

"Sir John Lent'all," explains a note, was Master of the King's Bench at that time. The next is probably the most widely current[3] of the Jonson jests—Ben's rhyme, while a bricklayer, to the flippant young lady who addressed him thus one morning on his way to work:

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[1] Of the jests already cited, the following reappear in *Ben Johnson's Jests:* Jonson's verses on *falling* into the group of convivialists; his verse contest with Sylvester; his verses to Attorney-General Noy; his verses on the Sun and Half-Moon taverns; Randolph's repartee on being called "bo-peep"; Jonson's epitaph on the heir; his verses for the vintner.

[2] P. 3. Also No. 984 in Hazlitt's *New London Jest Book,* 1871.

[3] Appears in Killigrew's *Compleat Universal Jester,* 1769, No. 225; *Merry Fellow's Companion* (Philadelphia, 1789), No. 256; *The Merry Fellow's Companion* (Harrisonburgh, Pa., 1797), No. 243; *The Spirit of English Wit* (5th ed., 1818), p. 304; *The Encyclopaedia of Wit* (1823 ed.), No. 1186; *Mirth in Miniature* (Derby, 1825), p. 83.

Clark in a note to his edition of Aubrey's *Brief Lives,* II, 16, gives the jest with the comment: "An anecdote of Ben Jonson (possibly from some book of jests) is communicated to me by Professor York Powell as still current in Oxford in oral tradition." I give this remark because it is an illustration of why present students of "oral traditions" and "folk lore" would do well to examine the jest books.

By Line and Rule, works many a Fool
Good-morrow, Mr. Bricklayer.

Ben no sooner turn'd his head and saw her, but he answer'd:

In Silk and Scarlet walks many a Harlot,
Good morrow, Madam.

The next is Ben's rhyme on the Angel Inn, at Basingstoke, kept by a Mrs. Hope and her daughter Prudence. One day finding the inn in other hands and the original sign removed, he wrote:

When Hope and Prudence kept this House,
An Angel watch'd the Door:
Now Hope is dead,
The Angel fled,
And Prudence turn'd a Whore.[1]

Finally occurs Jonson's remark on being made an A.M. at Oxford. His London friends "being scrupulous of it, would be often asking him, *but are you indeed* A.M. *Yes*, he replied, without *Question*."

Although Hazlitt's remark that a great part of the pleasantries and witticisms regarding Jonson arose after the middle of the eighteenth century is certainly misleading, jests about him did continue to arise subsequent to the date of the jest book that bears his name. These later jests carried on the traditions of the earlier ones. Ben's quickness at repartee and pun is brought out by his remark to the intoxicated gentleman who asserted that he had spent the night "at a concert of music." "Very likely," answered Jonson, "for I perceive you have drunk to some Tune."[2] The same volume contains another not especially brilliant remark by Jonson—this time to a parish clerk, who, conscious of his ability as a singer, insisted on prescribing all the songs to be sung by a convivial group: "*Hey day,* Mr. Amen, says *Ben, this is making too free, methinks; for though you make the Company sing what you please on Sundays, I can see no Reason you should oblige them to do so every Day in the Week*" (p. 19). Much wittier, at any rate, is the remark accredited to Jonson by the "Lady" who compiled *The Female Jester* (1780?)—his remark to a conceited author who insisted on an opinion of his new book: "Why, Sir, if I must speak my mind, I do not like it at all; for it is printed upon such confounded hard paper, that it rubs my backside like a nutmeg grater" (p. 104). Equally severe is Jonson's well-known reply to King Charles who sent him ten guineas, a seventeenth-century invention[1] which found its way into *The Compleat London Jester*, 1765: "His Majesty has sent me ten Guineas, because I am poor and live in an alley; go and tell him that his Soul lives in an Alley" (p. 83). The same book contains another instance of Ben's downrightness to those of superior rank. A lord whom Jonson had requested to subscribe to a public charity fund attempted to put the poet off. Jonson insisted on a positive statement. "No, I tell you, No," exclaimed the noble in anger. "I thank your Lordship, says *Ben*, taking out his List, how much shall I set you down? What do you mean by thanking me, returned the Nobleman, when I gave you a Negative? *Hold, my Lord,* returned *Ben, you said* No *twice, and I need not inform you* [*sic*] *Lordship, that two Negatives make an Affirmative.* Which Repartee so pleased the Nobleman, that he gave him a handsome Subscription" (p. 14).

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[1] Also No. 226 in Killigrew's *The Compleat Universal Jester*, 1769.

[2] *Compleat London Jester*, 1765, p. 19. Occurs also in *Wits of Westminster*, 1772, p. 83.

Jonson's fame as a composer of extemporal verse continued to grow. Number 232 of Ferdinando Killigrew's *The Compleat Universal Jester*, 1769, contains Jonson's lines written on the tombstone of "John Button":

O Heavens! O Earth! O Seas! O Poles!
Are Graves no more than Button-Holes?

The epitaph on Master Randall, a lawyer lamented by the entire community, is attributed to Jonson in Hazlitt's *New London Jest-Book*, 1871:[2]

God works wonders now and then,
Here lies a lawyer, and an honest man.

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[1] This anecdote, which was apparently embellished by Shields and incorporated in Theophilus Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, 1753, and repeated by Smollett, was successfully exploded by the author of the article on Jonson in *Biographia Britannica*, II (1757), 2785–86, long before it aroused the indignation of Jonson's irritable nineteenth-century editors (cf. Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, I, liii). In somewhat cruder form it had been in existence since 1651, at least. Cf. Bradley and Adams's *The Jonson Allusion-Book*, p. 295. Jest also occurs in *Merryfield's Jests*, 1795, p. 30.

[2] No. 995. I have not observed from what jest book Hazlitt took this "Jonsonian" epitaph.

Occasionally, as in earlier jest books, Ben was made the butt of the witticism of others, notably Shakspere's in a very indecent anecdote in *Shakespeare's Jests; or, the Jubilee Jester*, 1769(?).[1] And of course unfounded stories continued to be devised or propagated by persons other than the compilers of jest books,[2] the most interesting of which is "A Curious Anecdote of Alleyn, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson" told in the equally curious "Life of Edward Alleyn" appended to *The Life and Death of David Garrick, Esq.*, 1779, by "An Old Comedian":[3]

> We cannot introduce in a better place than here, a curious anecdote of Shakespeare and Alleyn, which carries with it all the air of probability and truth. A gentleman of honour and veracity, has a letter dated in the year 1600, which has been in the possession of his family for a long series of years, and which bears all the marks of antiquity. The superscription is "For Master Henrie Marle livynge at the sygn of the rose by the palace" and its contents run thus, "Friend Marle, I must desyre that my syster hyr watche, and the cookerie booke promysed, may be sente by the man—I never longed for thy companie more than last night; we were all verie merrie at the globe, when Ned Alleyn did not scruple to affyrm pleasantly to thy friende Will, that he had stolen hys speeche about the excellencie of acting, in Hamlet hys Tragedye, from conversaytions manyfold whych had passed betweene them, and opiniones gyven by Alleyn touchyng that subjecte. Shakespeare did not take thys talke in good sorte, but Jonson put an ende to the stryfe with wittielie sayinge thys affaire needeth no contentione; you stole it from Ned no doubte; do not marvel; have you not seene hym acte tymes out of number? —believe me most syncerelie
>
> H. PEEL."

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[1] P. 61.

[2] Chetwood, to illustrate, affirms that the chief rôle Jonson assumed as actor was "the Character of *Morose*, (a Picture it is said, which he drew from himself) in his own Play, called the *Silent Woman*" (*The British Theater*, 1752, p. 26); the author of *A Dissertation on Comedy*, 1750, probably John Hippisley, thus writes: "Beaumont's characteristic Excellence, was the artful Conduct of his Fables; which so particularly distinguish'd him, that we are told *Ben Johnson* submitted all his Works to his Censure, and plann'd his plots by his Advice and Direction" (p. 41); and *Oxberry's Dramatic Biography and Histrionic Anecdotes*, 1835, carries on the claim that had been put forth earlier in "a periodical publication" to the effect that Jonson composed the words of the original "God Save the King" (I, 124). On the question of the authorship of the national anthem see W. H. Cummings' *God Save the King, the Origin and History of the Music and Words of the National Anthem*, 1902. Cummings explodes the rather tenacious myth put forth in Richard Clark's *An Account of the National Anthem*, 1822, that Jonson's words were set to music by Dr. John Bull in 1607.

[3] The version above is an interesting deviation from the original forgery by George Steevens. For an interesting discussion of the forgery see Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare* (ed. 1922), pp. 646–47. Sir Sidney does not refer to the "doctored" version quoted here.

As the eighteenth century progressed, Jonson, as might be expected, figured less prominently in jest-book literature than such popular figures as Quin, Garrick, Foote, Franklin, Macklin, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. The latter became especially prominent.[1] Naturally the question arises, Did Dr. Johnson absorb or attract to himself certain jests formerly assigned to Ben? This is a problem which I shall not attempt to settle, merely citing what a certain "Lady" had to say on the subject in the Preface to *The Female Jester; or, Wit for the Ladies*, 1771–78:

> Neither have I made use, under Pretence of giving a great Number of *Originals* . . . . of that common Art among our modern Jest-Book Writers, of attributing the Wit of our Forefathers to their would-be-witty Sons; where, by dexterously changing *Ben Johnson* to *Dr. Johnson*, and *Joe Miller* to *Sam Foote*, &c. &c. several very *ingenious* Modern Jests have been served to the Publick at a Price three Times as dear as they would have sold for in their original State.

This passage should also be suggestive to anyone who is ambitious to determine the biographical significance of the many jests of Ben Jonson.

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[1] Perhaps the most striking illustration is *Scrapeana*, a 352-page jest book printed at York in 1792, in which Dr. Johnson figures repeatedly but Ben not at all. This statement must not be taken to mean, however, that Jonson's jests did not continue to be popular. Note in this connection the various cases above—in no sense an exhaustive list—of the reappearance of old jests in late jest books. Note, too, that *The New Ben Jonson's Jester* appeared in 1782, while in 1800 appeared *Ben Jonson's Jests, or the Banquet of Fun* (Lowndes, V, 1208).

COMUS, *OLD WIVES TALE*, AND DRURY'S *ALVREDUS*

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Milton's obligation to Peele's *Old Wives Tale* for a part of "the plan of the fable of *Comus*," while acknowledged by editors and commentators, has never been indicated in adequate detail.[1] It is the purpose of the table of parallels given below to supply the bill of particulars and to establish the probability that some features of the "plan of the fable" of that early product of the master's genius may be traced to a little-known work by an obscure English writer. *Alvredus sive Alfredus*, a Latin play, is a dramatization of the crucial events of the reign of Alfred the Great, written at Douay, in 1619, by William Drury, an English Catholic priest, for presentation by the students of the English college.[2] To argue the likelihood that Milton had read Drury would be supererogatory. Drury's *Dramatica Poemata*, in which *Alvredus* is included, was in its second edition when *Comus* was acted at Ludlow Castle in 1634. Milton was not the sort of Puritan to exclude from his library the work of a Catholic, particularly when that work was dramatic in form; his predilection for the drama is abundantly attested.

That this tabular presentation of evidence brings out incidentally Drury's indebtedness to Peele is altogether obvious.

1. The Prologues. The prologues of *Alvredus* and *Comus* are quoted in part, because of a general resemblance not altogether accounted for by common observance of the conventions of the prologue.

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[1] Isaac Reed, *Biographia Dramatica*, II (1782), 441, first pointed out the relation between *Comus* and the "scarce" old play. T. Warton repeated Reed with trifling amplification; later editors quote Warton (Todd, Brydges), or merely mention *O.W.T.* as a source of *Comus*.

[2] See the present writer's dissertation, *Alvredus sive Alfredus;* MS in the Library of the University of Chicago.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus*	*Comus*
No prologue or prologue-like speech.	The spirit of Cuthbert.	The prologue-like opening soliloquy of the Attendant Spirit.
	Quod cura superos generis humani pio Solliciter affectu, et ministrantes Deo, Devocet avitis Angelos caeli locis Mortalium Res; qui negat, Numen Dei Crudele, Sanctos aestimat Mundo graves, Nec ordinari lege mortales vices. Qua caelum aditur, nescit in arlo tamen Pietas teneri; quin in afflictas ruat Miserata gentes redditâ in terras viâ. Hinc luminosi templa deservi aetheris, Patriaeque repeto Marte turbatas domos; Ubi Danos hostis volitat, atque omni furens Crudelitatis genere funestat pias Sacrilegus Aras; ferre sed miseris opem Descendo rebus, Angliae carce memor, Et Regis ad me prece recurrentis piâ. (Cuthbert then makes known his identity and sketches the situation. He concludes:) Do locum, in scenam brevi	. . . . Before the starry threshold of Jove's court My mansion is, where those immortal shapes Of bright aerial spirits live insphered In regions mild of calm and serene air, Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot Which men call Earth, and, with low-thoughted care, Confined and pestered in this pinfold here, Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being, Unmindful of the crown that Virtue gives, After this mortal change, to her true servants Amongst the enthroned gods on sainted seats. Yet some there be that by due steps aspire To lay their just hands on that golden key That opes the Palace of Eternity. To such my errand is and, but for such, I would not soil these pure ambrosial weeds With the rank vapors of this sin-worn mould.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus*	*Comus*
	Rediturus actor	But to my task. (The Spirit sketches the situation.) . . . . But first I must put off These my sky-robes, Spun out of Iris' woof, And take the weeds and likeness of a swain, etc.

2. The supernatural agent.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus*	*Comus*
The ghost of Jack, the "frollickst frannion" in the parish, whose role is a dramatization of the "thankful dead" *motif*, familiar in folk-lore.	Cuthbert, a celestial being, once a saint on earth, now a spirit of the guardian-angel sort whose mission is to succor the afflicted, particularly the people of England and their king.	A celestial spirit, whose office is, in general, the same as Cuthbert's; but he has a special task, humbler than Cuthbert's, the protection of virtuous wayfarers through a particular wood.

3. Scene of the search for the lost maiden.[1]

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
Not definitely stated. The "old man" calls himself the "White Bear of England's Wood" and speaks of his bride as running "madding all inrag'd about the woods." The action takes place by day—the old man is a bear by night.	A forest by night.	A forest by night.

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[1] The anonymous morality *Common Conditions* presents vague parallels to 3 and 4.

4. The situation.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
Delia has been abducted by a conjurer before the action begins, and her two brothers are leading the search for her.	Elfreda has become separated by accident from her brother Edward, who searches for her, distressed by the fear that she has fallen a prey to lustful violence. Sister and brother are shown wandering separately.	The Lady has become separated by chance from her two brothers, one of whom entertains lively fears for her safety and honor. Separate scenes show sister and brothers in their wanderings.

5. The mood.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
Appropriate to the full light of day.	Terror occasioned by night and darkness is largely the theme of Elfreda's soliloquizing.	The "drear wood" is invested with "nodding horror"; the Lady is filled with fear of the "single darkness": "A thousand fantasies Begin to throng into my memory Of calling shapes, and beckoning shadows dire," etc.

6. The Echo-scene.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
The scene is introduced abruptly, and consists of a brief colloquy in which Echo answers questions by repeating the last word spoken by the interrogator. The brothers have the interview.	Edward briefly invokes Echo for aid, and a colloquy much more elaborately developed than Peele's, but identical in method, takes place. Edward salutes Echo as "vallium habitatrix" and "sonoris nympha nemoribus latens."	The Lady invokes Echo; no colloquy follows. The purport of the two invocations is naturally the same. The Lady addresses Echo as "sweetest nymph." Echo "lives unseen . . . . in the violet imbroidered vale."

7. The abductor.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
The conjuror Sacrapant, an "inchanter vile," who has placed Delia under a spell and has exercised his power of transformation on another character. Ruling trait, lust; purpose of abduction, gratification of that passion.	The Danish officers Osbern and Gormo. Purpose, same as in *O.W.T.*	Comus, "inchanter vile," who has the power of casting spells and working transformations similar to that employed by his mother Circe. Ruling trait and purpose, same as in *O.W.T.*

8. The rescue.

Old Wives Tale	*Alvredus* (III, 1–7)	*Comus*
Jack ends the conjuror's life by depriving him of his wreath and sword, and the power of his spells is overcome by Venelia, who when Jack discovers the "life index," breaks the glass and extinguishes the light. Jack's use of wool to stop the Wandering Knight's ears suggests Ulysses and the Sirens, and this adventure of Ulysses suggests that hero's experience with Circe. (Milton's Comus is the son of Circe.)	Edward vanquishes Osbern in single combat after Osbern has defeated Gormo and rendered him unconscious. The supernatural does not enter into the situation at this point; but the spirit of Cuthbert must protect the flight of brother and sister, for he claims credit elsewhere for delivering them safe to their father.	Protected by the magic power of the sprig of Haemony given them by the Attendant Spirit, the Brothers attack Comus, break his magic glass, and put him and his "rout" to flight. Through the good offices of the river goddess Sabrina the release of the Lady from the sorcerer's spell is effected.

For Milton's choice of Sabrina as *dea ex machina* in *Comus,* Drury's play can easily have been responsible indirectly; no one who had read *Locrine* could read *Alvredus* without being reminded of the earlier play, in which the fate of Sabrina to the point of her plunging beneath the waters of the Thames is dramatized.[1]

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[1] Some authorities have been inclined to see the influence of Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* in Milton's graceful fiction that the water nymphs revived Sabrina, who was then made goddess of the stream. Slight, indeed, is the hint, if any, which Milton found for this incident in the drowning and resuscitation of Amoret (III, i, 348 ff.).

HUDIBRAS, PART I, AND THE POLITICS OF 1647

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An Alphabetical Key to Hudibras, ascribed to Sir Roger L'Estrange, made its appearance in the *Posthumous Works* of Samuel Butler, London, 1715. A statement "To the Reader" by B. S. says: "This Key that is now presented to the Publick I procured many Years since from my Learned Friend Dr. Midgley, who assured me that it was written by Sir Roger L'estrange to oblige a Person of Quality." It is published at the earnest solicitation of the publisher with the idea that it may do something to expose the principles of a "rebellious republican party." This key seems to be accepted as genuine by Sir Sidney Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,[1] and by Mr. George Kitchen in his life of L'Estrange (London, 1913). It is to be noted that the same unreliable publishers issued also in 1715 *The Second Volume of the Posthumous Works* and included in it a key to *Hudibras*, Parts II and III, also by Sir Roger L'Estrange. Since the first key covers all three parts, the probabilities are that the second at least is spurious.[2] Also, since the first key contains annotations on Part III, it is probably later than what are usually regarded as Butler's own annotations issued in 1678, the year of the appearance of Part III. From this first key come the familiar ascriptions of originals to all the principal characters in *Hudibras;* namely, Hudibras represents Sir Samuel Luke; Ralpho, Isaac Robinson, "a zealous botcher in Moorfields," also said to be "one Pemble a tailor";[3] Crowdero ("hints at") one Jackson, a milliner in the New Exchange; Orsin ("this fictitious name seems to hint at") one Joshua Goslin, who kept bears "at Paris-Garden on the Southwark side; however, he stood hard for the Rump Parliament"; Talgol, a butcher in Newgate

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[1] See life of L'Estrange.

[2] The second key has not been accessible to the writer.

[3] *Hudibras in Three Parts, Written in the Time of the Late Wars*, by Samuel Butler esq., with large annotations and a preface, by Zachary Grey, LL.D. (2 vols.; London, 1799), note on l. 457.

Market; Magnano, Simeon Waite, a tinker and a famous Independent preacher; Trulla, the debauched daughter of James Spencer, a Quaker; Cerdon, one-eyed Hewson, the cobbler; Colon ("hints at") one Ned Perry, a hostler.

If *Hudibras* pictures an actual and veritable interference on the part of the parliamentary officials, Presbyterians and sectaries, with the joyous old popular sport of bear-baiting, why should the bear-baiters be represented as Puritans? And why is the saintly Colonel Hewson, a man of great political and religious importance, found among such insignificant persons?

The authors of the *General Historical Dictionary*, according to Grey,[1] were the first to introduce the name of Sir Samuel Luke into the gap in line 904, Part I, canto i:

> 'Tis sung there is a valiant Mamaluke,
> In foreign land yclep'd—
> To whom we have been oft compar'd, . . .

Also, the life of Butler, written, according to Oldys, by Sir James Astey,[2] and prefixed to the edition of *Hudibras* of 1704, states that Butler was for some time in Luke's service; but no mention is made of this connection by Wood or Aubrey, and it must be regarded as doubtful.[3] The association with Sir Samuel Luke may have been invented to justify filling the chasm in the line above.

The connection with Brentford fair in the third canto of the second part is easily discredited. Sidrophel says, lines 995–96:

> And though you overcame the bear,
> The dogs beat you at Brentford fair.

Butler has here made an odd use of the sham second part of *Hudibras*, written to take advantage of the popularity of Butler's first part, and issued in 1663. This spurious poem had recounted an adventure of the kind alluded to, which Butler playfully accepts as part of the history of his hero. In Part I, canto i, line 665, he simply says:

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[1] *Ibid.*, note on Part I, canto i, l. 908.

[2] *The Poetical Works of Samuel Butler*, a revised edition with a memoir and notes by Reginald Brimley Johnson, 2 vols., London, 1893, the Aldine edition, pp. xxviii–xxix. *Notes and Queries*, 3d ser., III, 101.

[3] It is rejected by Nash in his edition of *Hudibras;* by Mr. H. Baldwin, "Butler's Genuine and Spurious Remains," *Retrospective Review*, II (1820), 270; and by Professor C. H. Firth, in his article on Sir Samuel Luke in *D.N.B.* See, however, *Hudibras* by Samuel Butler, edited by Alfred Milnes, London, 1881, pp. xv ff.

> In western clime there is a town.

There are no means in the poem itself or in Butler's own annotations of fixing the earlier part of *Hudibras* to any particular place or of tying it up with any particular persons.

The poem, particularly Part I, is nevertheless continually suggestive of current political events, and the fact that it was written in the midst of the civil war and not published until after the Restoration may account for the difficulties of interpretation which beset critics. Without the least intention of embarking on the wild sea of allegorical interpretation, I should like to inquire when the poem was written and what political significance it might possibly have had in its time. Only the most obviously early parts will be worth considering, or can be considered, at this time.

Butler's own statement, on the title-page of the first part, is, "written in the time of the Late Wars": that is, written between August 22, 1642, when the standard royal was raised at Nottingham, and August 17, 1648, when the breakdown of the Scottish invasion occurred. It was therefore written before the death of the king and contains nothing to indicate that it was not so written. The second part was published in 1664 with the statement "by the author of the first part." When, however, the two parts were published together in 1674, the statement read, "the first and second parts written in the time of the late wars," with, however, separate title-pages as above. When the third part was issued in 1678, it was said to be "by the author of the first and second parts."[1] Collected editions since early in the eighteenth century have described themselves as "in three parts written in the time of the late wars." The truth of the matter seems to be that the first part and some portion of the second part were written before the execution of the king; the three epistles and the third part, with the exception of the second canto of the third part, were written after the Restoration. The second canto of the third part was written during the interregnum.

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[1] Beverly Chew, "Some Notes on the Three Parts of *Hudibras*," *Bibliographer*, I, 123–38. Milnes, in the introduction to the edition of *Hudibras* cited in the preceding note, pp. xix–xxx, gives many references to contemporary events, particularly those having to do with religious controversy.

In the first canto of the first part the conception of the cause of the war is an early conception and would not have been advanced after the execution of the king, when the universal royalist opinion was that the war arose, not from trivial causes or misguided ignorance such as that described in the first ten lines and elsewhere in the canto, but from wicked revolt against the authority of the king and his ministers.

Various lines in the first canto refer to events close to the time of the breaking out of the war; but it will be sufficient if we call attention to a few lines near the end of the canto.[1] The squire remarks in lines 722–24:

That Dog and Bear are to dispute,
For so of late men fighting name,
Because they often prove the same;

and in lines 729–33:

And try if we by mediation
Of treaty and accommodation,
Can end the quarrel, and compose
The bloody duel, without blows.

That these lines would be appropriate to the situation after Edgehill, October 23, 1642, rather than after Marston Moor, July 22, 1644, and Newberry, October 27 of the same year, is borne out by a remarkably close agreement beween lines 761–72 and the propositions presented to the king at the Treaty of Oxford.[2] The propositions of Uxbridge and of Newcastle were not concerned with just these matters:

They fight for no espoused Cause,
Frail Privilege, Fundamental Laws,
Nor for a thorough Reformation,
Nor Covenant nor Protestation,
Nor liberty of consciences,
Nor Lords' and Commons' Ordinances;
Nor for the Church, nor for Church-lands,
To get them in their own no hands;
Nor evil Counsellors to bring
To justice, that seduce the King;
Nor for the worship of us men,
Though we have done as much for them.

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[1] But see also ll. 270, 390, 552.

[2] S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, 1625–1660 (2d ed., revised and enlarged; Oxford, 1899), pp. 262–67; see also, for propositions of Uxbridge, pp. 275–86, and, for propositions of Newcastle, pp. 290–306.

The propositions invited the king to vindicate and secure the privileges of Parliament (X), insisted upon the carrying forward of the reformation of the church and the restriction of the liberties of Catholics (Preamble, III, IV, V, VI, XVI). The protestation of the House of Commons was enacted May 3, 1641, and is in substance re-enacted here. After the withdrawal of the king, acts of Parliament were known as ordinances until the fatal ordinance which erected the High Court of Justice (XI). Again, Articles IV and XIV might be considered as an attempt to get possession of the church's lands. Essex's orders were to follow the king and "by battle or other way rescue him from his perfidious counsellors and restore him to Parliament." The propositions present the same idea (II, VI). The Solemn League and Covenant was taken by the House of Commons, September 25, 1643, and, therefore, belongs to exactly the same period. The words "of late" in the line:

For so of late men fighting name

have the suggestion of the early hostilities not yet acknowledged as such.

In the second canto, on the other hand, the war is referred to as fought and lost, but there is no reference to the trial and execution of the king; in fact he is several times referred to as if alive.[1] The allusions in this canto are in general later than those of the first canto and are often clearly retrospective: the making and breaking of the Covenant (l. 509), the Protestation (l. 521), the arrest of the five members (l. 526), the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords (l. 530), and finally a scheme to purge the House of Commons, lines 547–48:

And some for boom, old boots and shoes,
Bawl'd out to purge the Commons' House.

This apparently does not allude to Pride's Purge, of which Ralpho would not have failed to remind Hudibras, had it already been carried out. The purging of the House of Commons was a matter of dispute all through the year 1647.[2] In a passage indicating the impending quarrel between Presbyterians and Independents, Hudibras asks the purpose of all that has been done, lines 623–63. The passage closes in the present tense, used nowhere else in the speech, except in the reference to the purging of the House of Commons, in these words, lines 661–63:

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[1] Consider, for example, ll. 505–15.

[2] S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (new ed., 4 vols.; London, 1898), III, 294, 348, 350–51, 358; IV, 5, 215, 269–70.

In name of King and Parl'ament,
I charge ye all, no more foment
This feud, but keep the peace between
Your brethren and your countrymen,
And to those places straight repair
Where your respective dwellings are.

These lines and the digression in the description of Orsin, lines 173–98, are almost certainly to be construed as a reference to the attempt begun early in 1647, by Parliament, to get rid of the army, an issue which wrecked the Presbyterian party.[1] The lines in question are these:

For soldiers heretofore did grow
In gardens just as weeds do now,
Until some splay-foot politicians
T' Apollo offer'd up petitions
For licensing a new invention
Th' had found out of an antique engine,
To root out all the weeds that grow
In public garden at a blow,
And leave th' herbs standing. . . .
. . . .
The Devil's master of that office,
Where it must pass; if 't be a drum,
He'll sign it with *Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.;*
To him apply yourselves, and he
Will soon despatch you for his fee.
They did so, but it prov'd so ill
Th' had better have let 'em grow there still.

This serves to fix roughly the date of the canto as the years 1647–48, when Presbyterian control gave way to that of the Independents and the army.

The third canto also contains references to this particular period, although here the interpretation is less sure. The brave resistance of the bear, his flight, and establishment in a place of at least temporary comfort, lines 25–170, may represent the flight of King Charles from Hampton Court to Carisbrook. Certainly for a period after his departure things looked bright for the royalist cause. The King's party was optimistic throughout the autumn and winter of 1647–48.[1] That was also the period, particularly at Christmas, 1647, when the interference with popular sports and games was most strongly resented, and is therefore a natural time for the introduction of the story of the bear-baiting.[2] The royalist reaction of late 1647 and early 1648 seems to be the only time when the political situation conforms to the state of things reflected in *Hudibras;* namely, when, before the striking events of 1648, both Presbyterians and Independents may be said (the former more than the latter) to have been discomfited; so that Ralpho's words to the knight, lines 1057–72, as they sit in the pillory, were entirely appropriate:

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[1] See also ll. 599–600.

> But none that see how here we sit
> Will judge us overgrown with wit.
>
> . . . .
>
> For who without a cap and bawble,
> Having subdued a bear and rabble,
> And might with honour have come off,
> Would put it to a second proof?
> A politic exploit, right fit
> For Presbyterian zeal and wit.

It is not necessary to the conception to insist upon the identification of King Charles with the bear, although it is a common enough figure of speech in the writings of the time by which to express the various and furious attacks to which he was subjected. He uses it of himself in a letter to Queen Henrietta Maria, June 10, 1646.[3] It is used also by Butler in a serious prose work, *The Case of King Charles Truly Stated.*[4] To make such a figure of speech fundamental in a burlesque poem of such a nature as *Hudibras,* first published after the Restoration when King Charles was becoming more and more the royal martyr, would have been an altogether different thing. The obscurity of the poem may arise from Butler's desire to prevent any such identification. Such a conception of the war against the king was too dispassionate for the Restoration, although it must be said that it is quite the sort of opinion one would expect from Butler, who is known to have been associated with the dispassionate Selden, who is thought to have spent several years in the employment of a distinguished parliamentary colonel, and who, later on, during the reign of Charles II himself, was capable of writing a *Satyr upon the licentious age of* Charles the Second, *contrasted with the puritanical one that preceded it,* even if we relieve him of the responsibility for the authorship of *The Court Burlesqued.*[1]

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[1] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War,* III, 370–71; IV, 63–82; *et passim.*

[2] Gardiner, *Ibid.,* IV, 45–46.

[3] *Camden Society's Publications,* LIX, 45.

[4] *The Genuine Remains in Prose and Verse of Samuel Butler* (published by R. Thyer, London, 1759), I, 361.

It seems possible that the first episode, the interference with the bear-baiting, may represent the defeat of the Presbyterians and their overthrow by the leaders of the army. It is clear that Hudibras and Ralpho are on the same side in general with the bear-baiters.[2] Among the bear-baiters themselves, however, it is obvious that Orsin is the proponent of the bear, and that of the others Talgol, at least, has been his adversary on many fields (Part I, canto ii, ll. 287–94); and that Magnano, too (ll. 333–34), and presumably others have fought with Orsin. It is, moreover, an organized rabble suggestive of the new model (ll. 475–86); and its leaders correspond roughly with the leaders of the army after the self-denying ordinance, when Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, and Ireton were the principal commanders in the war and the principal political leaders after the war was ended. When Hudibras demands that the rabble disperse, he is answered by Talgol; when Parliament demanded that the army should be dispersed, a long series of remonstrances were addressed to Parliament by Fairfax. Talgol is pictured as a butcher, but the reader is reminded that he is a butcher on a large scale (ll. 315–30); Fairfax was also reproached for the slaughter of his countrymen. Magnano is by implication a tinker given to the constructing of warlike instruments and to the making and stopping of breaches

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[1] *Genuine Remains,* I, 69–80, and *Posthumous Works in Prose and Verse. Written in the Time of the Grand Rebellion and Reign of King Charles II,* by Mr. Samuel Butler, London, 1715.

[2] See Hudibras' speech to the rabble, Part I, canto ii, ll. 493–682, particularly ll. 661–64.

(ll. 353–60), and he had fought Orsin and "got but little by it." Skippon was an artillery officer and an adept at the science of fortification; he had also had the misfortune to be forced to surrender his troops with 49 pieces of fair brass ordnance, 220 and odd barrels of gunpowder, with match, ball, etc., proportionable, after Essex's escape in the ill-fated expedition into Cornwall.[1] Skippon is not infrequently referred to as "magnanimous" Skippon, and is so characterized by Thomas May.[2] Cerdon may be Ireton for these reasons: Cerdon is a cobbler, a "fast friend to reformation" and a "rectifier of law;" he is learned, also, and one who transcribed, collected, translated, and quoted, and is a great disputant (ll. 429–40). Ireton was a scholar of the rebellion, the drafter of papers, the citer of precedents, and the amender, or "botcher," of the constitution. Cerdon also assists the bear to escape (I, iii, 97–170). Ireton long maintained his support of the king, and, according to Mrs. Hutchinson, thought that Charles "could be so managed as to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his violent will." Finally, Colon, which name reversed suggests Cromwell's nickname, is an hostler, extremely hard and rough,

> Right expert in command of horse,
> But cruel, and without remorse (ll. 440–56),

a description which may fit Cromwell, as he was thought of in 1647. He was of course regarded as a marvelous cavalry officer; but Ireton and several others were quite as prominent politically as he was, a thing which would account for his comparatively unimportant position here. One may get an idea with reference to Crowdero and at the same time perceive the dim outlines of a political allegory somewhat as follows: Talgol replies to Hudibras' demand that the rabble disperse. Hudibras draws on him and they fight pell-mell. Colon comes to Talgol's assistance. Ralph meets Colon. Magnano puts a thistle under Ralph's horse's tail. The horse throws Ralph off and bumps into Hudibras' steed, which in turn throws off Hudibras. Hudibras falls on the bear. Bear and rabble run away. Crowdero stays to attack Hudibras (strikes him twice). Ralph rescues Hudibras, who starts to put Crowdero to death; but Ralph interferes, and Crowdero is put into the stocks instead. The political events of the summer of 1647 are as follows:[1] The Parliament attempts to disband the army. The army issues many manifestoes over Fairfax's signature. Cromwell changes his policy and countenances military resistance to the authority of Parliament. Holles and other Independents assail Cromwell on the charge of hypocrisy. Skippon had been persuaded to accept the command of the proposed Irish expedition in order that he might toll off the turbulent army by his popularity. Instead of this he failed to secure their following, and, in his negotiations between the soldiers and the Parliament, he was regarded as having betrayed the Presbyterian cause.[2] The Presbyterian party was therefore defeated, and the abduction of the King from Holmby, which now followed, may be regarded, in the words of Gardiner, as "the answer to the Presbyterian attempt to raise a force to overpower the army and to break it up. . . ." Now it happens that just at this time John Lilburne, who was almost constantly embroiled throughout the period, issued his pamphlet, to be followed by other pamphlets, against Manchester, and was committed to Newgate (June 16, 1647), where he remained until the autumn of the year after the army had taken possession of London.[3] As "th' incendiary vile," "author and engineer of mischief," and, therefore, most likely to be playing the rôle of Crowdero, John Lilburne, with the possible exception of Harry Martin, was easily first among the men of the time. Crowdero was imprisoned for a time and then released as Lilburne was (ll. 1113–78, and I, ii, 994–98). Lilburne had the honor to be grievously wounded in the arm, while Crowdero had suffered in the leg; both were bards. If, as seems possible, Orsin was originally intended to represent Prince Rupert, the leading royalist commander, all connection with the story disappears with the loss of the bear (I, iii, 171–270). Prince Rupert was, of course, like Orsin (ll. 223–32, 241–48), a great inventor.[4]

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[1] *Mercurius Belgicus, or a Brief Chronology . . . to the 25th of March, 1646* (printed with *Mercurius Rusticus*), London, 1685.

[2] Josiah Ricraft, *Survey of England's Champions*, London, 1647; facsimile edition, p. 82.

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[1] See Part I, canto ii, ll. 683 ff. Cf. also Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, III, 212 ff.

[2] Holles, *Memoirs* (ed., Maseres), pp. 241 ff., 283.

[3] See *D.N.B.*, Professor C. H. Firth's life of John Lilburne with the references there given.

[4] Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, London, 1849, III, 431 ff.

Orsin's part in the third canto is however not applicable to Rupert; whether Orsin is the king himself or some royalist leader, the complications of the wild fight render it very difficult to tell. Trulla, too, is a mystery. There was only one woman of supreme political importance in the period, and it is impossible to connect Trulla with her. The obscurity of these two rôles prevents me at this time from attempting any interpretation of the riotous third canto, which seems, however, both in its nature and in its outcome to refer to the monstrous political agitations of the summer and autumn of 1647 and the winter of 1648.

ENGLISH EPISTOLARY FICTION BEFORE *PAMELA*

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That Samuel Richardson did not invent the form of the epistolary novel is apparent to most students of English fiction today despite familiar statements to the contrary. That Richardson himself took pride not in the form but in the new matter of his novels is probably equally true. Yet a survey of the fiction in epistolary form published in England before *Pamela* may add interest to Richardson's work at the same time that it disposes of the myth of his unnatural isolation.

Letter-writing for purposes of literature or real life received impetus in the seventeenth century from several sources: (1) the emphasis in the school curriculum on the translation and imitation of Latin epistles; (2) the vogue of the familiar letter in France and England; (3) the improvement of the postal system in the second half of the seventeenth century, facilitating and stimulating correspondence;[1] (4) the editing of newspapers and periodicals in letter form; (5) the publication of numerous manuals of letter-writing.[2]

Contemporary comment indicates the increase in the practice of letter-writing. John Chamberlayne wrote in 1673:

> The English since the Reformation are so much given to Literature, that all sorts are generally the most knowing People in the World: Men and Women, Children and Servants, cannot only read but write Letters, to the

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[1] Increase in the amount of epistolary literature is notable in connection with the following dates: 1635, Inland Post put on self-supporting basis through the imposition of postage; 1657–60, acts of Parliament establishing a general postoffice provided for cheaper service; 1680, London Penny Post established, with frequent collections and deliveries; 1720, Ralph Allen improved the Rural Post.

[2] Angel Day, *The English Secretarie, wherein is contayned a perfect method for the enditing of all manner of Epistles and familiar letters*, etc., 1586, appeared in successive editions, and was followed by a long line of manuals endeavoring to instruct by precept and example "young learners," "each degree of women," "a person of the meanest capacity," "anyone of ordinary capacity" "such as never understood Latin," "either sex," "Children and those of riper years," "poor Parents and their Children," "any Person of what Quality soever." Richardson's famous manual from which *Pamela* sprang is but one of the list.

greatest Encrease of Commerce, and the prodigious Advantage and Augmentation of the Post Office, in proportion beyond any other Post Office of Europe.[1]

At the end of the century, the postmaster-general wrote to the treasury that "Easy and cheap corresponding doth encourage people to write letters."[2] The *Tatler*, No. 30, reflects the fashionable vogue of "letters of gallantry" for which the company at Will's discusses the "handsomest style." The reporter advocates the rule "of being as near to what you speak face to face as you can," being of the opinion that "writing has lost more mistresses than any one mistake in the whole legend of love."

The familiar letter, a social and literary convention in England and France, finds illustrations in such correspondences as that between Mrs. Katherine Philips and Sir Charles Cottrel, published in 1705 under the title *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*. The dedicatory verses, evidence of the seriousness with which epistolary technique was regarded, especially by women, declare:

> From her may Ladies learn how to endite,
> What letters Friends to absent Friends should write.

A long prefatory poem to James Howell's *Epistolae Ho-Elianae*, 1645, written in the tradition of Balzac's familiar letters (translated 1634–37), reviews the history of the epistolary art and the various uses which letters serve. It reminds the readers that:

> Love is the Life of Friendship, Letters are
> The Life of Love,

and again:

> Speech is the Index, Letters Ideas are
> Of the informing Soul, they can declare,
> And shew the inward Man.

Epistolary fiction emerged, then, from a background of miscellaneous epistolary practices, a growing habit of letter-writing for practical and literary ends. The letter of real life, I suspect, contributed chiefly to the novel, the literary epistle to the informal essay.

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[1] *Magnae Britanniae Notitiae: or, the Present State of Great Britain*, etc., London, 1673, p. 188.

[2] *Academy*, XVI (1879), 463.

For more than a century before *Pamela*, epistolary fiction developed by means of certain stock situations, rudimentary at first, but increasing in complexity and credibility. The four of chief importance are: the rifled postbag; the letters of travel; the friendly correspondence, especially between the friend in the country and the friend in town; the correspondence of lovers.

I

The framework device of the rifled postbag appeared early. Under the Commonwealth and earlier, the post was frequently searched for incriminating matter. Highwaymen and thieves, likewise, in turbulent times plundered the mails. Such conditions doubtless suggested the literary device which served as a framework to contain numbers of unrelated letters, or groups with a thread of connection, giving glimpses of isolated human-interest situations. Many letters were, of course, purely essayistic without fictional value. One of these collections was Nicholas Breton's *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters*, 1603, which was so successful as to beget imitations such as:

> A Speedie Poste, with Certaine New Letters. Or the First Fruits of new Conceits, never yet disclosed. Now published for the helpe of such as are desirous to learne to write Letters. By I. W. Gent. 1625.[1]

Truer to the type of the rifled postbag, perhaps, was a work attributed to John Dunton and also to Charles Gildon, *The Post-Boy Rob'd of His Mail* (Vol. I [1692 ?]; Vol. II [1693]; another issue, 1705).[2] In 1719 a similar work is declared in its Preface to be the work of the same author, identified by the *Dictionary of National Biography* as John Dunton:

> The Post-Man Robb'd of His Mail: or, the Packet broke open. Being a Collection of Miscellaneous Letters, Serious and Comical, Amorous and Gallant. Amongst which are, The Lover's Sighs: or Amours of the Beautiful Stremunia and Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile and Aragon, and Earl of

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[1] Another edition with changes in the title appeared in 1645 (*Works in Prose and Verse of Nicholas Breton* [ed., Grosart, Edinburgh, 1879], I, xxxix.)

[2] *Term Catalogues*, II, 466; III, 483. *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, IX, 524, mentions a volume of 1692 only and attributes it to Gildon. The *Dictionary of National Biography* cites the title without date among Gildon's works. Lowndes describes the work as "1692, 8vo, 2 vols." and ascribes it to John Dunton. The *Term Catalogues* likewise attributes it to Dunton.

Provence; with her Passionate Letters to the King on his chusing another Mistress. In Five Books. By the best wits of the present Age.[1]

The Preface discusses fully the contents of the book, recommending "the passionate love-letters of the fair Stremunia," and suggesting that readers submit to the editor similar collections of their own.

II

The second stock device, the letter of travel, is often accompanied by the satiric comment of the foreign observer, which allies it to the type of the *voyage imaginaire.* For example, the editor of the *Post-Man Robb'd of His Mail* promises in his second volume "the Packet of an Arabian Spy who liv'd, some years in Europe especially in England." These are evidently an echo of the popular *Letters of a Turkish Spy,* first translated from the French in 1687.

In its simplest form, the letter of travel made a popular appeal similar to that of the picaresque novel. The distinction between genuine and fictitious accounts is difficult to draw. Among such works, for example, is the series of the Countess d'Aulnoy's letters:

> The Ingenious and Diverting Letters of the Lady ——'s Travels into Spain, describing the Devotions, Nunneries, Humours, Customs, Law, Militia, Trade, Diet, and Recreations, of that People. Intermixt with great Variety of Modern Adventures and surprizing Accidents [1691–92].[2]

Other letters especially directed to feminine readers are:

> Memoirs of the Adventures of a French Lady of Quality, during her late Residence at Venice, sent by her in a Letter to an English Lady in London; containing a great Variety of Fortune, with many Excellent Moral Reflections. Recommended to the perusal of the Fair Sex [1705].[3]
>
> Letters from a Lady at Paris to a Lady at Avignon, containing a particular Account of the City, the Politicks, Intrigues, Gallantry, and Secret History of Persons of the First Quality in France. Written by Madame Du Noyer. The second Edition. To which is added An Account of the Author's person and Writings [Vol. I (1716); Vol. II (1717)].[4]

Such letters reflect the contemporary taste for secret histories and scandal novels, types of fiction freely translated from the French and Spanish during the last decades of the seventeenth century and early years of the eighteenth, and imitated in England, especially by women. The appetite for personal history found satisfaction in the apparent veracity and intimacy of the epistolary documents. The letter form thus early became a means of self-revelation and an aid to verisimilitude, which recommended it both to the teller of intrigue stories and tales of adventure in the seventeenth century and to the domestic moralist in the eighteenth.

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[1] Copy in the library of the University of Chicago.

[2] *Term Catalogues,* II, 379, 393.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 480.

[4] *Cat. Brit. Mus.* Mme Dunoyer was an exiled Protestant who also wrote *Lettres Historiques et Galantes,* 1704.

To the epistolary fiction of this type belong also certain works by Mrs. Manley. One of these appeared in 1696 under the title:

> Letters written by Mrs. Manley. To which is added, by the Honourable Collonel Pack, A Letter from a Supposed Nun in Portugal to a Gentleman in France: in imitation of the Nun's Five Letters.[1]

The title of the edition of 1725 gives clearer indication of its character:

> A Stage-Coach Journey to Exeter, Describing the Humours of the Road, with the Characters and Adventures of the Company. In Eight Letters to a Friend.[2]

Another work attributed by Miss Morgan hypothetically to Mrs. Manley, but claimed by Mr. Whicher for Mrs. Eliza Haywood, is a contribution to the rich literature of Bath:

> Bath Intrigues. In Four Letters to a Friend in London [1724].[3]

Daniel Defoe was quick to note the value of the realistic detail and the autobiographical interest in the letter of travel. One of his earliest works of fiction, published in 1719 between the first and second parts of *Robinson Crusoe*, was the pamphlet in letter form:

> The King of the Pirates: being an Account of the Famous Enterprises of Captain Avery, the mock King of Madagascar. With his Rambles and Piracies; where all the sham accounts formerly published of him are detected. In two Letters from himself; one during his stay at Madagascar and one since his escape from thence.

Although Defoe did not aspire to the twofold point of view of the correspondence, he did find in the epistolary form a means of arousing belief in a picaresque hero, and a convenient device for reinforcing the incidents of a traveler's story with descriptive detail, as he himself indicated in the Preface to this work. In his longer works, he used personal documents—the journals of Robinson Crusoe and the Cavalier, the "memorandums" of Moll Flanders, the confessions of Jack Sheppard; and in his *History of the Remarkable Life of Jack Sheppard* he introduced two letters into the body of the narrative.[1]

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[1] *Term Catalogues*, II, 591.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 591. For discussion of the fictional quality of this work see Morgan, *The Novel of Manners*, New York, 1911, p. 86.

[3] Morgan, p. 221; Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood*, New York, 1915, pp. 111–12.

III

The third stock device, closely akin to the one just discussed,[2] was the correspondence between friends, frequently women, especially between the "friend in the country" and the "friend in town." Such letters contain serious and facetious accounts of contemporary manners, and incidents of fictional value. In the flood of town and country correspondence, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, appears the influence of the improvement in the Inland Post, resulting from the Postal Act of 1657–60. During the same period, a great body of controversial literature on political and theological issues took the form of letters exchanged between the "Gentleman in the Country" or the "Country Divine" and his friends in town. Certain manuals of letter-writing of this period are especially intended for country readers, as for example *The Country Copy-Book,* 1672.

To the epistolary fiction of this class belongs pre-eminently the Duchess of Newcastle's *CCXI Sociable Letters,* 1664, and Tom Brown's *The Adventures of Lindamira, a Lady of Quality, Written with Her Own Hand to a Friend in the Country* 1702.

Advertised in 1702 is the following curious work:

> The Country Gentleman's Companion for the Town: In eighteen Letters from a Gentleman in London to his Friend in the Country; representing the Advantages of a Country Life in opposition to the Follies of the Town; discovering most of the Humours, Tricks, and Cheats of the Town, which Gentlemen when Strangers are exposed to.[3]

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[1] His later treatise on the servant problem, *The Great Law of Subordination,* 1724, and his *Complete English Tradesman* 1726–27, take the form of familiar letters.

[2] Further instances of the letters of travel, particularly the more satiric type approaching the *voyage imaginaire,* I have omitted for lack of space.

[3] Advertised for E. Harris, in *England's Jests;* the same work, apparently, is announced under a slightly different title in the *Term Catalogues,* III, 175, in 1700: *The Country Gentleman's Vade Mecum, or His Companion for the Town.*

To correspondences of this type, Mrs. Rowe contributed her *Letters Moral and Entertaining*, 1729–33, as well as her earlier *Friendship in Death in Twenty Letters from the Dead to the Living*, 1728, of slighter fictional interest.[1]

IV

The fourth stock device, which produced the epistolary novel full grown, is the correspondence of lovers. In his article on "Italian Influence in English Prose Fiction," Professor Howard J. Savage concludes that "the convention of the letter reached English fiction from the Italian," though he admits at the same time that "the rise of the letter in Elizabethan fiction was undoubtedly contemporary with its rise in Elizabethan life."[2] He points out the technical importance of letters to the plots of many Elizabethan translations of Italian *novelle*, beginning with Aeneas Sylvius' *Goodlie History of Lucres*, translated between 1550 and 1560, and continuing through the stories in the collections of Painter and Fenton. In Lyly's *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wit*, in keeping with this tradition, the breach between the two friends is brought about by means of a letter; and after the close of the story edifying reflections in letter form are appended. Similarly, in the heroic romances of the seventeenth century, *billets*, though sometimes merely decorative, are occasionally useful as means of motivating or assisting a dramatic situation, as, for example, in the case of the forged note in Boyle's *Parthenissa*.

Fresh attention was directed to the literary possibilities of the love-letter, however, by the appearance in French and soon after in English translation of a notable correspondence. In 1669 was published the first French edition of the famous *Portuguese Letters*. "Their success," Mr. Edgar Prestage writes, "took such proportions that from mutual rivalry of authors and publishers there sprang up a new kind of literature, that of '*les Portugaises.*' The *Five Letters* of the Nun[3] had followers like most popular romances, and the title *Portuguese Letters* became a generic name applying not only to the imitations which amplified subsequent editions but also to every sort of correspondence in which passion was shown *toute nue*." These letters and their continuations appeared in English as follows:

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[1] See Morgan, pp. 93–95.

[2] *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII (1917), 20 ff.

[3] *The Letters of a Portuguese Nun* (trans. by E. Prestage, Portland, Maine, 1900), xxxvi.

1678. Five Love-Letters from [Marianne d'Alcoforado] a Nun to a Cavalier [Chevalier de Chamilly]. Done out of French into English by Roger L'Estrange.

1681. Seven Portuguese Letters: being a second part of the Five Love-Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier.

1683. Five Love-Letters Written by a Cavalier, in answer to Five written to him by a Nun. Headed, "The answers of the Chevalier Del."[1]

In 1709 and in later years appeared versified versions of the letters by anonymous authors. Of the Nun's *Five Letters*, Mr. Prestage writes, "There can be little doubt that the letters are what they profess to be, since they contain within themselves satisfactory evidence of their own genuineness."[2] No one now argues, I believe, for the genuineness of more than the initial series.

In 1696, under the patronage of Mrs. Manley, appeared an imitation of these letters by Colonel Pack.[3] A versification of the *Five Letters*, in 1709, was provided with a prefatory discourse treating "of the Nature and Use of such Epistles in General; with the Excellence of these in particular." This fact seems to indicate a recognized vogue. Finally, in 1726, Mrs. Jane Barker wrote a curious sequel to the letters in her work, *The Lining of the Patch-Work Screen*, a collection of tales, one of which tells a story of the escape and later life of the Portuguese Nun.[4]

This vogue begun by the *Portuguese Letters* reached far in England as well as France. Probably as a result of the fashion, there was published, in 1693, a French paraphrase of the letters of Abelard and Heloise, originally published in Latin at Paris, in 1616. The Latin version was published in London, in 1708. An English translation by John Hughes was published in 1722 (possibly earlier) with a Preface which compares these letters with the *Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* to the disadvantage of the latter. The letters of Abelard and Heloise, the translator finds, "are everywhere full of sentiments of the heart [which are not to be imitated in a feigned story], and touches of Nature, much more moving than any that could flow from the pen of a Writer of Novels, or enter into the imagination of any who had not felt the like emotions and distress."

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[1] Esdaile, *List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London 1912), pp. 147–48. See also Prestage's bibliography.

[2] *Prestage*, pp. xxxix–xl.

[3] See above, p. 160.

[4] Morgan, p. 73.

Numerous fictitious correspondences between lovers now appeared, and continued to appear until Richardson in *Pamela* wrested the epistolary form from its preoccupation with romantic intrigue and adapted it to the less extravagant and sensational requirements of a "History of Life and Manners" of bourgeois sort. Among the first of these imitations of the *Portuguese Letters* was Mrs. Behn's work, which appeared in successive versions and editions under a variety of titles listed by Esdaile and Miss Morgan.[1] The first version noted, dated 1682, is a work in the British Museum entitled:

> A New Version of the Lady Gr——s [i.e., of Mary, Lady Grey of Werke, concerning her sister, the Lady Berkeley. In a letter to Madame Fan——.

In the next version, the work evidently takes more definite form:

> Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister [1683].

An edition of 1693 in the Bodleian bears the fuller title:

> Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister [adopted sister] viz.] F——rd Lord Grey of Werke and Lady Henrietta Berkeley under Borrowed Names of Philander and Silvia.

An edition of 1707 is recorded; and a version of 1728, not in epistolary form, apparently, but containing the same story, under the title:

> The Illegal Lovers: a true secret history. Being an Amour between a person of condition and his sister. Written by one who did reside in the family.

In 1734 appeared what was called the second edition, under a title nearly like that of 1693. The vicissitudes of this bit of sensational fiction are indicative of the taste of the time and the irregularities attending publication.

Probably at an earlier date Mrs. Behn published three series of what purported to be her own letters. Miss Morgan thinks the third series must have been written as late as 1671, at least two years after the publication of the French edition of the *Portuguese Letters*. These *Love-Letters to a Gentleman* present "a woman trying to retain the love of a luke-warm lover by revealing the strength of her own passion," and differ in tone and style from the other letters of Mrs. Behn.[1]

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[1] Morgan, pp. 194, 204, 226, 230; Esdaile, p. 161.

Meanwhile a number of similar works were being published anonymously, as such works properly should be:[2]

Love's Posie, or A Collection of Twenty-seven Love Letters, etc. [1686].
The Familiar Epistles of Col. Henry Martin [1685].
Love Letters between Polydorus and Messalina [1689].
Letters of Love and Gallantry, etc. [1693–94].
The Unhappy Lovers; or, the Timorous Fair One [1694].
An Historical Account of the Amours of the Emperor of Morocco [1702].
The Perfidious P——. Being Letters from a Nobleman to Two Ladies [1702].
Love Letters from Henry VIII to Anne Buleyn [1714].
The Double Captives; or, Chains upon Chains [1718].
Familiar Letters of Love and Gallantry for Several Occasions [1719].

In 1719 also appeared in *The Post-Man Robb'd of His Mail* (already discussed):

> The Lover's Sighs: or the Letters Of the Most Beautiful Stremunia to Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile, Aragon, and Earl of Provence. Translated out of the Provencial Tongue into Latin, by Gonsalvo de Mendoza.

The comment upon these letters relates this and similar works to the vogue of the secret history which was just passing its prime:

> These Letters [said the Baron] I find, form a sort of Secret History; but I have seldom much Faith in those Historians who pretend to convey things of this Nature to Posterity. What Credit these Secret Histories [assum'd the Chevalier] may challenge, I do not know, yet they are always entertaining by their very Character [p. 178].

The prevalence of such taste doubtless determined the character of the fiction of Mrs. Haywood and others of her time.

A work of scandal much touched up, I am told by Mr. John R. Clapp, appeared probably in 1723, though it is undated:

> Love-Letters between a certain Nobleman and the famous Mr. Wilson. Discovering the true History of the Rise and Surprising Grandeur of that celebrated beau.

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[1] Morgan, pp. 76–77.

[2] See *Term Catalogues*, II, 181, 466, 483; Morgan, pp. 109, 197, 201, 204, 213, 215; Esdaile, pp. 275, 284, for full titles.

In 1731 was published, according to the *Catalogue of the British Museum:*

> Pylades and Corinna: or, Memoirs of the lives . . . . of R. Gwinnett . . . . and Mrs. E. Thomas Jan., containing the letters . . . . which passed between them. . . . . Published from their original manuscripts.

A second volume, not in the British Museum, was advertised in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1732, under the title:

> The Honourable Lovers, or 2nd Volume of Pylades and Corinna, etc.

Likewise in epistolary form, Miss Morgan says, is the second novel of a volume published in 1731:

> The Constant Lovers; being an entertaining history of the Amours and Adventures of Solenus and Perrigonia, Alexis and Sylvia.[1]

Inevitably the timely and versatile genius of Eliza Haywood led her to the epistolary form for secret histories. She probably produced seven works of epistolary fiction, original or translated, of various types. She added to the literature centering about the popular charlatan Duncan Campbell, in whom Defoe was interested, two packets of presumably fictitious letters in the second and third parts of her pamphlet, *A Spy upon the Conjuror*, 1724.[2] She brought out in 1721 a translation in epistolary form, *Letters from a Lady of Quality to a Chevalier. Translated from the French.* This is supplied with a noteworthy "Discourse upon Writings of this Nature." These letters, Mr. Whicher says, "emphasize the teachings of the *Lettres Portugaises.*" Their popularity is attested by successive editions in 1724, 1725, 1730. The contribution to the epistolary literature of Bath, published in 1724, *Bath-Intrigues: in Four Letters to a Friend in London,* Mr. Whicher ascribes to Mrs. Haywood. A satire of the foreign-observer type she brought out in 1727 under the title:

> Letters from the Palace of Fame. Written by the First Minister in the Region of the Air, to an Inhabitant of this World.

And in 1730 appeared:

Love-Letters on all occasions lately passed between persons of distinction. Collected by Mrs. Eliza Haywood.

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[1] Morgan, pp. 110, 228.

[2] Full bibliographical information concerning this work and others by Mrs. Haywood to be mentioned later may be found in Whicher, *op. cit.*.

This collection Mr. Whicher describes as containing, together with a number of disconnected letters, a series of twenty-five after the manner of the *Portuguese Letters.* Two later works of Mrs. Haywood's are epistolary in form, the essayistic *Epistles for the Ladies,* 1749–50, and a final work of secret history, *A Letter from H—— G——, esq., One of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber of the Young Chevalier. . . . . To a Particular Friend,* 1750. Despite her frequent use of the epistolary method, however, Mr. Whicher disclaims for Mrs. Haywood any great perception of its technical possibilities.

V

In turning from the four specialized types of epistolary fiction just reviewed to the domestic novel of Richardson, it is necessary to glance back at an anticipation of his domestic plot combined with at least a partial use of his epistolary form; that is, to "a scene of distress in private life" entitled "The History of Amanda" by John Hughes, in the *Spectator,* No. 375, of May 10, 1712.[1] Here we have in the course of a little story of about 1,500 words, three letters carrying the narrative through the crucial point of the plot. One letter is from the unscrupulous lover to the poverty-stricken father; one long and lamentable one from the distracted mother to the virtuous daughter in service in the country; and one from the repentant lover to the mother promising his lordly hand to Amanda and his friendship to her family as a reward for her virtue and their distress. This romantic little story of middle-class life, by the translator of the *Letters of Abelard and Heloise,* traverses Richardson's own ground, social, moral, and in part, technical, more than a quarter of a century before his time. Yet Miss C. L. Thomson, Richardson's usually accurate biographer, in speaking of *Pamela* says: "It is only when we remember that both the plan and subject-matter were entirely original, and that the sentiment and treatment correspond to the ordinary tone of lower middle-class feeling at the time, that we can comprehend or sympathize with the immense enthusiasm excited."[2]

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[1] Professor Ernest Bernbaum calls attention to the similarity of this tale to the sentimental drama of the period. (*Drama of Sensibility,* Boston and London, 1915, pp. 113–14.) To the middle-class matter and morality of sentimental comedy and sentimental essays, Richardson seems to have owed a great debt.

[2] *Samuel Richardson, a Biographical and Critical Study,* London, 1900, p. 170.

One can only guess that such claims go back to the unwary statement of Richardson's early eulogist, Mrs. Barbauld, who in the Preface to her edition of his correspondence says of the epistolary method: "This is the form made use of by Richardson and many others after, none, I believe, before him."[1]

A final survey of the main points in this study, however, shows that epistolary fiction before Richardson had reached an effectiveness which probably recommended the method to his use. Its appropriateness for analysis of the feminine heart had early been revealed in letters of various sorts. The correspondence between lovers recorded the psychology of passion and preserved the poignancy of communication "in the height of a present distress." Letters between intimate friends, masculine and feminine, served as vehicles of humor, satire, moral reflection, and realistic narration reinforced by immediacy of impression. At most of these points early epistolary fiction anticipated Richardson. Moreover, early letters of travel, with snapshots of "the humours of the road" savor of Smollett's latest novel; and letters to the friend in the country on the manners of the town look forward to Miss Burney.

Letters helped to bring romantic fiction closer to life and closer to the comprehension of an undisciplined reading public. Letter-writing was a popular accomplishment; hence the author of an epistolary novel secured through the familiarity of his form credence for the circumstances of his fable. The letter form was timely, likewise, in that it appealed to the taste for personal history fed by the seventeenth-century vogue of memoirs, diaries, biographies and autobiographies, and genuine letters. Simultaneously personal documents, purely fictitious, revealed sensational experiences with analysis of feeling and motive acceptable to a generation accustomed to the French and Spanish intrigue stories and the more genteel eroticism of the heroic romance. This same effectiveness, technical and psychological, suited the method to Richardson's purpose, securing for him those "instantaneous descriptions" and that dramatic connection between character and incident in which his novels excel.

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[1] *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson,* London, I (1804), xxvi.

What Richardson appears, then, to have contributed to literary history is not a new-created form, the epistolary novel; he was not its "meticulous inventor." Nor did he claim to have invented anything of such secondary interest. Rather, in his much-quoted letter to Aaron Hill and in his Prefaces he emphasized his desire to create "a new species of writing," new because its "easy and natural manner" and the "simplicity" of its story should divert "young people from the pomp and parade of romance writing, and dismissing the improbable and marvellous with which novels abound, might tend to promote the cause of religion and virtue." Hill's reply considered only the *simplicity* and the *morality* of *Pamela;* the form required no comment. One contemporary remark excited by the epistolary method indicates only a conviction of its appropriateness to Richardson's purposes and to his peculiar gifts. Mrs. Donnellan writes to him on September 25, 1750:

> The epistolary style is yours, 'tis speaking, 'tis painting; but I think there must be a friend to tell some things a man can't tell of himself, for I am delicate on the subject of self-praise, but when the scenes represented are passionate they must come from the person concerned, or they lose their spirit.[1]

To the epistolary method already recognized as an aid to verisimilitude and as a vehicle for satire and passion, Richardson added the stuff of bourgeois domestic life already popular in the drama and essay before his day. The result was a new type of novel which blended the self-revelation of the letters of intrigue and the realism of the letters of affairs, so as to produce a true "History of Life and Manners" with "its sole end" to serve as "a vehicle to the instruction."[2]

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[1] *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson,* IV, 32.

[2] This study does not attempt a complete bibliographical record but merely a survey of the field with a view to placing Richardson's epistolary novels in their context.

NOTES ON THE CANON OF POPE'S WORKS, 1714–20

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I

From the moment Pope announced his intention of translating Homer, he was the object of frequent attack. Before this time (October, 1713) he had been vituperated by Dennis, and he had already made some enemies; but in general his career had been peaceable and promising. He was now to be assailed by Gildon, by young Tom Burnet[1] and his friend Duckett, by their *Grumbler* (February to July, 1715), by good old pious Blackmore, by newspaper men, such as the writers of the *Flying Post*, and lastly by that enterprising publisher of "unconsidered trifles," Edmund Curll. Although personal causes explain some of these attacks, such as those of Dennis and perhaps Blackmore, it is certain that Pope had done nothing to deserve the quantity of attack that was poured out against him from 1714 to 1720—and thereafter on to the *Dunciad*. The main cause was probably political: the idea was to terrify Pope from party-writing. Most of the early attacks on him—all of them so far as I know—came from Whigs. Most of them came from the group connected with Button's Coffee House, and came consequently from men who might be supposed to be under the influence of Joseph Addison. A second cause would be his religion. Most writers on the literature of this period have no idea, apparently, of the furious hatred of Catholics expressed in journals and pamphlets during the years here under consideration. A third, and very important reason, was the natural envy which poverty-stricken party-writers felt at the pecuniary success of Pope's *Homer*.

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[1] The youngest son of the famous Bishop of Salisbury. One of the best aids to understanding the background which literature of this period had in coffee-house intrigue, gossip, and pamphleteering is *The Letters of Thomas Burnet to George Duckett, 1712–22*, a volume invaluably edited by Mr. Nichol Smith for the Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1914).

The years 1714 to 1720 constitute the crucial period in which Pope's genius was being formed. It was a period when every man's pen was poised in an attitude of self-defense, and when every man's mind was hospitable to suspicions of others. Generally, more is known of the suspicions and deceits of Alexander Pope than of those of any of his contemporaries, and the inferences have been very unfavorable to him. In the new light which Mr. Nichol Smith's edition of Thomas Burnet's letters sheds upon this period, one has to revise many opinions with regard to Pope and his contemporaries. In furtherance of an effort toward such revision, it is necessary to establish as rigidly as possible the canon of Pope's works. It is here proposed to examine some items which are in themselves of slight literary value, but which deserve consideration for the light they throw on different influences and tendencies in Pope's early career.

II

The poem first to be considered is worth notice as influential in the relations between Pope and Addison. So far as I know it has never been ascribed specifically to Pope.

In the summer of 1713 John Dennis, angered at slights put upon him by the *Spectator*, attacked *Cato*.[1] Pope thereupon immediately printed an attack on Dennis, *The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris, concerning the strange and deplorable frenzy of Mr. John Den——.* Of this pamphlet Addison expressed through Steele his disapproval.[2] Why? The attack is one of the most scintillating pieces of caricature ever written; and if exceedingly caustic, it is more than justified by what Dennis had written of Pope. None of Pope's contemporary enemies, except Dennis, ever reproached him with it, and one of them, Charles Wilson, author of *Memoirs . . . . of . . . . Congreve*, 1730, says: "Who but an Idiot, under the Dotage *John Dennis* is now arriv'd to wou'd ever have told this Story, or even at the time have taken such an *Ironical-Joke* as Dr. *Norris'* Narrative to have been meant as *serious Truth.*"[1] "High-mindedness" cannot here be predicated of Addison to explain his refusal to read the attack before it was printed (Did he try to prevent its publication?) in view of the fact that Tom Burnet's letters show clearly that in 1715 Addison was working in the underhand plot to spoil the success of Pope's *Homer.*[2]

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[1] Dennis, *Original Letters*, 1721, pp. 55–57. The story that Pope schemed to get Dennis to make this attack is not lightly to be credited. Dennis needed no encouragement; he believed he had just grievance. He hints, to be sure, but very vaguely, at some trickery in the matter in his *Remarks on Mr. Pope's . . . . Homer*, 1717, pp. 91–92, where he cites Edmund Curll—of all persons!—as his authority. Not before 1729 did Dennis make the categorical charges finally printed in his *Remarks on the Dunciad*, 1729, p. 41. Both the original authority and the sixteen years' delay in publishing the story militate strongly against it.

[2] Elwin-Courthope, ed. Pope's *Works*, VI, 400.

We must look further for an explanation of Addison's objection to Pope's *Narrative.* A very real reason is found in the political situation. Addison as a hopeful Whig leader and literary "whip" felt obliged to conciliate Dennis, who was an energetic party-writer and a pensioner of the Whigs. Dennis was prominently mentioned in 1715 for the laureateship as a reward, we may be sure, for services rendered.[3] Pope, on the other hand, as a Catholic was naturally inclined to the High Church Tory party and even to the Jacobite wing of that party. He had attached himself to Swift, Arbuthnot, and the "Scriblerus" group so closely that he seemed lost even as a political neutral. Other things being equal, then, politics demanded the conciliation of Dennis. Of course Steele's letter to Lintott expressing Addison's disapproval of the *Narrative,* while intended to reach Dennis, was not of necessity to be communicated to Pope.

But other things were not equal. Pope had, as is well known, annoyed certain of the Little Senate at Button's, and he may well have annoyed Addison in one way that Tom Burnet's letters now enable us to point out for the first time. On March 18, 1714, Burnet wrote Duckett: "That Copy of Verses of a Lady bepissing her self at Cato, was written by Pope and Rowe both in Ridicule of those that cryed at Cato."[4] The reference is to a squib, now found in Rowe's *Works,*[5] which may have been current in the coffee-houses during the run of *Cato,* and which, according to an advertisement in the *Post Boy,* February 18, 1713–14, was that day published in "*The Poetical Entertainer: Consisting of Epigrams, Satyrs, Dialogues,* &c. viz.: Upon a Tory Lady who shed her Water at Cato; Upon rooting up the Oak set by K. Charles II. . . . . To be published as often as Occasion shall offer. No. V. Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall 6d." It is not necessary to reprint the lines; they set forth how, while others wept, Tory Celia expressed her emotions in a sincerer fashion. The piece is typical of the period both in its indecency and in its ambiguity. To Rowe, a good Whig, though a friend of Atterbury and though Pope's most intimate friend, it was a jibe at the Tories; to the Tories it was a jibe at *Cato;* and to Pope it was either as circumstances demanded. Above all, for him it expressed a sincere contempt for the party spirit of 1713. Addison, however, would doubtless find himself agreeing with the Tories that this epigram was uncomplimentary to *Cato.* The lines, then, while adding nothing to Pope's fame, do help to explain Addison's increasing coolness. Even if Pope had nothing to do with the epigram, the rumor that he did would doubtless reach Addison. Burnet was close to Addison, though suspicious of him; if Burnet had the rumor, Addison would have it. I see nothing inherently improbable in Burnet's assertion of collaboration. Pope and Rowe were very intimate, and the squib is not unlike some of Pope's works.[1]

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[1] *Memoirs . . . . of . . . . Congreve,* p. 140.

[2] He helped Burnet and Duckett revise their attacks on Pope, and was possibly (though Mr. Nichol Smith thinks not probably) connected with their *Grumbler,* which also attacked Pope. See *The Letters of Thomas Burnet to George Duckett,* 1712–22, Oxford, 1914, pp. xl, 80, 95, 99, and 256. This is totally apart from any connection with Tickell's *Iliad I.*

[3] The *Weekly Packet,* August 6 and 13, 1715; see *ibid.,* August 20, for an item saying that Rowe "on the 12th instant took the usual Oath" as laureate. Dennis was made Historiographer.

[4] *Op. cit.,* p. 57.

[5] In Chalmers' *English Poets,* IX, 475.

III

If Burnet's letters are at times illuminating, at other times they are certainly perplexing. On February 5, 1719, he writes Duckett:

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[1] Professor R. H. Griffith has sent me important additional information on this epigram. He notes that when the lines appear in Rowe's *Works,* they are always accompanied by a Latin translation; he notes that they appear in the Pope-Swift *Miscellanies* ("the last volume") of 1727, on p. 176, without this translation. He then reaches the natural conclusion that "it looks as if Rowe was responsible for the translation into Latin but not for the English original." Inclusion in the *Miscellanies* is not a certain proof of authorship on the part of the Pope-Swift-Gay group—they might have included the lines if Rowe were the author, though that is improbable. The omission of the Latin version, however, together with the inclusion of the English is pretty convincing evidence. Professor Griffith suggests also that these lines were occasioned by the poem in the *Poetical Miscellanies* published by Steele at the end of 1713 (written of course earlier) on the "Lady who wept at *Cato.*" Other aid by Professor Griffith ought to be acknowledged here, though he is in no way responsible for any of my conclusions. His bibliography of Pope (Vol. I, Part I, for the years 1709–34, University of Texas Press, 1922) will put all future students of Pope infinitely in his debt.

"To enliven our almost deceased Correspondence, I will send you a Copy of Verses that came very lately from my Parnassus, they are in imitation of Sir John Suckling's easy gentile [*sic*] way & made upon a Lady that is famous for Reading." There follow the five stanzas of Pope's lines "To Lady Mary Wortley Montagu." Mr. Nichol Smith notes[1] that these lines, with slight changes, are found in the posthumous (1777) collection of Burnet's verses, pages 9–11, under the title, "To Lady D——n, on her Dancing." So far as is known the verses were not printed until over a year after Burnet sent them to Duckett. They were first advertised, as printed for Curll among others, in the *Evening Post*, March 29, 1720: "This Day is published, the two following Poems. I. The Second Eve; a Poem on the Lady Mary Wortley Montague. By Mr. Pope." . . . . It was also published in Hammond's *New Miscellany*, May 21, 1720, in Mist's *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, June 6, 1724 (as "By Mr. P——"), and doubtless elsewhere. Though commonly ascribed to Pope in his lifetime, they were, I believe, never formally acknowledged by him—perhaps because of his later unpleasantness with Lady Mary. Why Burnet should claim the lines is not clear. We see, however, how verses "passed about among friends"—or among enemies—would ultimately fall into the hands of Edmund Curll.

IV

On September 8, 1717, Pope wrote Edward Blount regarding the work of the Rev. Aaron Thompson in translating Geoffrey of Monmouth. "He wanted my help," Pope says, "to versify the prayer of Brutus, made when he was much in our circumstances, inquiring in what land to set up his seat, and worship like his fathers."[2] Then follows Pope's version of the prayer. The translation as printed in the letter seems to be the unrevised text that Pope sent Blount; at least it is not the text printed in Thompson's translation of Geoffrey in 1718, some seven months later.[3] It is in fact inferior to the form printed in Thompson's volume, and seems a preliminary version of the lines. The differences are slight but numerous, and they bring the translation into neater fidelity to the Latin. It is interesting to see that Pope follows Milton in the phrasing "On thy third reign look down"; for Milton has "On thy third reign the earth look now."[1] In line three of the version sent to Blount, Pope seems to command Diana to *extend* her sway over the heavens and over the infernal regions; but this nonsensical procedure is certainly a misprint that all editors have copied. The lines as printed in 1718 have *extends*, which makes sense and which is surely what Pope wrote. Since the inferior text stands in the present editions of Pope's poems, it is perhaps worth while to reprint that published in 1718:

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

[2] Elwin-Courthope, VI, 376.

[3] *The British History, Translated into English from the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth* . . . . , by Aaron Thompson, is advertised in the *Evening Post*, April 19, 1718, as "This Day . . . . publish'd."

> Goddess of Woods, tremendous in the Chace
> To Mountain Bores, and all the Savage Race!
> Wide o'er th' Æthereal Walks extends thy Sway,
> And o'er th' Infernal Mansions void of Day!
> On thy third Realm look down! unfold our Fate,
> And say what Region is our destin'd Seat?
> Where shall we next thy lasting Temples raise?
> And Choirs of Virgins celebrate thy Praise?

Immediately following the Prayer of Brutus comes the response of the goddess. Did Pope translate this also? He says nothing of it to Blount, but evidently his work on the prayer was not completed when he wrote to Blount, and the response may have been translated later. Naturally, Thompson would wish the goddess to reply in verses no less excellent than those Brutus addressed to her, and since as a matter of fact the translation of the response is artistically superior to that of the prayer, it is probable that the response is also Pope's work. It reads as follows:

> Brutus, there lies beyond the *Gallick* Bounds
> An island which the Western Sea surrounds,
> By Giants once possess'd; now few remain
> To bar thy Entrance, or obstruct thy Reign.
> To reach that happy Shore thy Sails employ:
> There Fate decrees to raise a second *Troy*,
> And found an Empire in thy Royal Line,
> Which Time shall ne'er destroy, nor Bounds confine.

We may conclude that the proper text of the "Prayer of Brutus" to be printed in Pope's works is that given above; it is probable, though by no means certain, that the response of the goddess is also his translation. At any rate the episode of his discussions of Geoffrey with Thompson has an importance hitherto, I think, unnoted; for an examination of Pope's "Plan of an Epic Poem, to have been written in Blank Verse, and intitled *Brutus*"[1] shows not merely a natural indebtedness to Geoffrey but some emphasis on points of discussion between himself and Thompson. It is evident that Pope's reflections on the material of Geoffrey dated from this occasion, and also evident that his *Brutus* would have been the result of long planning.

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[1] See Milton's *History of Briton*, in his *Prose Works* (Bohn Library, 1877), V, 171.

V

In the strenuous winter and spring of 1717–18, one of the noisiest literary successes was Colley Cibber's play *The Non-Juror*. Although this adaptation of *Tartuffe* is not subtle, such was its aptness at a moment when the Bangorian controversy made every coffee-house a center of ecclesiastical argument and when the feeling against Catholics was at white heat, that it inevitably scored a notorious success. Pope, himself a non-juror, persecuted by double taxation and other infringements of just property rights, could hardly have enjoyed his friend Rowe's prologue for the play, the last lines of which are:

> Ship off, ye Slaves, and seek some Passive Land,
> Where Tyrants after your own Hearts command.
> To your Transalpine Master's Rule resort,
> And fill an empty abdicated Court:
> Turn your Possessions here to ready Rhino,
> And buy ye Lands and Lordships at Urbino.

Apparently, however, he bore the prologue as coming from Rowe better than he could the play coming from Cibber, with whom a year previous he had entered upon a feud arising from *Three Hours after Marriage*.

It is pretty certain that Pope attacked the play in a pamphlet, and it is equally certain, I think, that his pamphlet on the play is not the one commonly ascribed to him. The evidence for the usual ascription comes from Cibber himself,[2] but it is wrongly interpreted by Carruthers, and others, to mean that Pope wrote *A Compleat Key to the Non-Juror*.[3] What Cibber says is in part as follows:

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[1] Warton, Pope's *Works*, IV (1797), esp. pp. 359, 368.

[2] *A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope*, 1742, pp. 26–27.

[3] Carruthers, *Life of Pope*, 1857, p. 158.

> At this time then there came out a Pamphlet (the Title I have forgot) but the given name of the Author was *Barnevelt*, which everybody believed to be fictitious. The Purport of this odd Piece of Wit was to prove, that *The Non-Juror* in its Design, its Characters, and almost every Scene of it, was a closely couched Jacobite Libel against the Government: And, in troth, the Charge was in some places so shrewdly maintained, that I almost liked the Jest myself; at least, it was so much above the Spirit, and Invention of the Daily-Paper Satyrists, that all the sensible Readers I met with, without Hesitation gave it to Mr. *Pope*. And what afterwards left me no doubt of it was, that he published the same Charge against his own *Rape of the Lock*.[1]

A compleat Key to the Non-Juror. Explaining the characters in that play, with observation thereon, by Joseph Gay, which Curll printed in 1718, and which has been by Carruthers and by later students accepted as Pope's work, satisfies none of the contradictory details in the description of Pope's supposed pamphlet given by Cibber. It is not by "Barnevelt" but by "Joseph Gay," the usual pseudonym of John Durant Breval. It is worth noting that a volume of *Miscellanies* by "Mr. Joseph Gay" in the British Museum has the third edition of this *Compleat Key* bound in with other of Breval's works. The pamphlet, furthermore, is not so much a political explanation of the play as it is an attack on Cibber's lack of originality. Lastly, it contains a probable slur at Swift[2] of which Pope would not be guilty.

A pamphlet that satisfies Cibber's description decidedly better, and which was contemporaneously ascribed to Pope (though not so ascribed by any of Pope's editors, I believe) was advertised first in the *Evening Post*, February 18, 1718, as follows:

> The Plot Discover'd; or, a Clue to the Comedy of the *Non-Juror*. With some Hints of Consequence relating to that Play. In a Letter to N. Rowe, Esq; Poet-Laureat to his Majesty. To which is subjoin'd some Verses written by Mr. Rowe, pr. 6 d. (The Manuscript of this Pamphlet was sent to me on Tuesday last, and I was this Morning given to understand, that

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[1] Pope's burlesque attack on the *Rape of the Lock* was published before, not after, this time, being advertised for publication in the *Flying Post*, April 21–23, 1715 (as to be published the twenty-fifth), and in the *Postman*, April 26–28, 1715, as "this day published." There were two editions in 1715; the third dates 1718 (hence Cibber's "afterwards"?), and a fourth came out in 1723. The title, in part, runs: *A Key to the Lock. Or a Treatise Proving, beyond All Contradiction, the Dangerous Tendency of a Late Poem Entituled The Rape of the Lock to Government and Religion. By Esdras Barnivelt, Apoth.*

[2] P. 9.

this signal Favour was conferr'd on me by Mr. Pope, for which I hereby return my most grateful Acknowledgment for the same. E. Curll.)

A "second edition," for which the type was reset only for the title and the half-title, has, facing the title the following:

To Mr. Pope
Be Gen'rous *Pope*, nor strive to be conceal'd,
Since your own Clue, it's *Author* has reveal'd;
Go on, the frauds of *Cibber* to explain,
And prove him, what he is, a ——— in grain.

This evidence is of course not conclusive, but since Cibber speaks of a pamphlet ascribed to Pope by "all sensible readers," this public ascription is valuable. Such advertising would certainly tend to make difficult a general ascription to Pope of another pamphlet. *The Plot Discover'd*, furthermore, does seem to attempt to prove that *The Non-Juror* is an attack on the government; it at least shows that Cibber's satire was strangely muddled. It demonstrates a similarity between the situation of Sir John Woodvil (Orgon) and Dr. Wolf (Tartuffe) and that of the Bishop of Bangor and M. de la Pillonière, the ex-Jesuit of the Bishop's household, who had somewhat unfortunately come to the Bishop's aid in the controversy which that good Whig was carrying on against the High Church party. In other words, it pretends to show Cibber attacking Bishop Hoadly, a royal protégé, instead of a real non-juror. This distortion of Cibber's none too adroit satire on the Jacobites is possibly clever enough to be the work of Pope. It is certainly in keeping with his conception of Cibber's genius.

Aside from the advertisements connecting Pope with *The Plot Discover'd*, I have found little external evidence to indicate his authorship of the pamphlet. His letters have relatively little to say of *The Non-Juror*, although it is mentioned more than once with casual disparagement. Two letters, however, have some importance in view of the fact that they date close to the advertisements of the second edition of the pamphlet.[1] In a letter to Caryll dated March 29, 1718, Pope concludes: "Mrs. Patty Blount is picking up a large collection of libels to send you. We are here of opinion that scandal is the only vice of which those of Ladyholt have any taste left."[1] Two days later he wrote the Hon. Robert Digby a gossiping letter, in the course of which he remarks: "My Lady Scudamore . . . . has not seen Cibber's play of the Nonjuror. I rejoiced the other day to see a libel on her toilet, which gives me some hope that you have, at least, a taste of scandal left in you, in defect of all other vices."[2] The parallelism of idea in the second sentence quoted from each letter, the discreet reserve with which the word "libel" is used, though used in the second letter in connection with the *Non-Juror*, together with the coincidence of date and with the other evidence adduced to connect Pope with *The Plot Discover'd*, all lead one to guess that Pope was at this moment sending the pamphlet about as one in which he took personal interest. The probability, then, is that this pamphlet, and not *A compleat Key to the Non-Juror*, is by Pope.

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[1] Curll advertises it in the *Evening Post*, March 25, 1718. The advertisements of this work interchange the half-title, "A Clue to the Non-Juror" with the title, "The Plot Discover'd."

VI

Evidently the works here related to Pope are intrinsically unimportant. They are far from unimportant, however, in showing the influences at work driving him from the more gracious types of poetry, with which he began his career, to that type which led one of his best friends[3] to exclaim:

> Why wou'd'st thou force thy Genius from its End?
> Form'd to delight, why striv'st thou to offend?
> When every soft, engaging Muse is thine,
> Why court the least attractive of the Nine?

Hardly a week of these years passed without the publication of offensive remarks concerning Roman Catholicism, and Pope as a Roman Catholic was more than once connected by the public press with the Jacobites. By nature Pope loved leisure and books—his enthusiasm over Geoffrey of Monmouth and his desire to make an epic out of Geoffrey's material are notable instances of such love; but the religious and political controversies of the day kept his leisure in a state of agitation, and the envy of his literary inferiors[4] kept it in a state of irritation. His later satires are the result of this environment and not of any innate ill nature or malignity.

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[1] Elwin-Courthope, VI, 262. [2] *Ibid.*, IX, 69–70.

[3] Lord Lyttleton, in his *Epistle from Rome to Mr. Pope*, 1730.

[4] This envy is not mythical. I hope presently to organize material already in hand dealing with attacks on Pope during these years. Even a list of them is too extensive to be given here, as it contains well over thirty items for less than ten years.

SOME IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF *THE BEGGAR'S OPERA*

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I

Quite apart from its stage popularity *The Beggar's Opera* had a contemporary significance that lies hidden in state documents and news journals of the years from 1728 to 1731. These forgotten records show why newspapers were started with government funds, how prosecutions were pushed against opposition journals, and in general what devices seemed needed to keep Sir Robert Walpole's administration from falling. These resultants of Gay's play began to appear immediately after its first production, on January 29, 1728, and altered the course of social and political history in England.

During the last years of George I, English men of letters accepted as necessary the political bondage laid upon most of their number by Sir Robert Walpole. By the opening of 1723, this father of prime ministers had subsidized the press and all minor avenues of public intelligence. He had made party journalism as normal a function for experienced writers as had been theological ratiocination among the men of letters influenced by James I a hundred years earlier. Under Walpole's protective propaganda, the first Hanoverian ruler of England passed the years from 1723 to 1727 in composure, disturbed only now and then by the hopeful, impatient writers supporting an opposition led by Prince George. The fighting spirit of the days when Defoe and Addison were writing had disappeared under the steady pressure of state subsidy and under the complete organization of the government news service.

Party-writers showed in 1723 a resignation to such circumstances. The *St. James's Journal* of May 18 gave an honest account of its service to the government, denounced party scribbling as a "miserable as well as a scandalous trade," and left the field to "men who had no Choice but that or hard Labour for their support." A little later, on May 27, *Pasquin* filled its columns with comments on those party-writers who had "either made their Peace or their Terms" and so had left the control of politics securely in the hands of the government group.

This submission of nearly all writers to political control made indelible marks upon the record of literary history for the years from 1723 to 1727. It was then, after the failure of a Shakspere revival, that the *True Briton* noted an utter lack of taste in England in the following comment: "The Theatre is a Kind of Political Touchstone, for nothing sooner discovers a sound or sickly State, than the Taste of its People at the Theatrical Assemblies; where no previous Arts of Preparation have been us'd, but the Audiences are left free to their natural Impressions."[1] Ramsay and Thomson in the North were creating poetry, and Swift in Irish isolation was flashing out his *Drapier Letters;* but London brought forth, between 1723 and 1727, only *Gulliver's Travels* as relief from reprints, miscellanies, and translations. The drama went under "a Triumvirate of base and unworthy Usurpers, *Masquerades, Hocus Pocus Tricks,* and *Dr. Faustus.*"[2] With a new Master of the Revels, Francis Henry Lee,[3] the court of 1725 settled down to an uncritical acceptance of the musical and dramatic extravaganza that held the London stage.

Those were years of prosecution for publication of scurrilous and immoral works, and of craven pleas for mercy from offenders. During 1725, Edmund Curll filled many letter sheets[4] to Stanhope and to Charles Delafaye, of the state office, asking their clemency, a sign that Walpole's control was effectual in Curll's field as well as in that of narrowly partisan publication. In 1726 Swift took part with Walpole in dramatizing the latter's insolent treatment of English men of letters when he faced "Bluff Bob" at a Chelsea levee and plead to be taken out of "that cursed country" of Ireland into England. Walpole refused jocularly, with a gesture toward a tree on his lawn that was dying because transferred from Houghton, by saying that so would a removal spoil Swift's wit.[5] Curll and Swift, at opposite ends of the scale suffering in their own ways under this new kind of literary dictator, are representative figures.

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[1] No. 56, December 13, 1723.

[2] The *Tea Table,* No. 1, February 21, 1724.

[3] Appointed under royal grant of May 18, 1725. Brit. Mus. Add. MS 36125, f. 289.

[4] In MS, *State Papers Domestic,* George I, bundle 58.

[5] Brit. Mus., Birch MS 4223, f. 320.

Against such a background certain incidents of the years between 1727 and 1730 stand out in sharp contrast. Upon his succession, George II accepted the guidance of Walpole and broke with his friends of the former opposition group. This destroyed all their hopes of state preferment and created active animosity against George II and Walpole. Since Gay and Swift had been of the group hostile to Walpole in former times, they realized the hopelessness of their position. Their bitterness in disappointment is well known through their subsequent writings; yet if extraordinary in its expression, the actual feeling of Gay and Swift was only that of a very large number.

Activity in all kinds of party-writing began as soon as George II reaffirmed the family reliance on Sir Robert Walpole. Dramatic satire took a turn toward politics unparalleled in former times, unquestionably because *The Beggar's Opera* gave that kind of party propaganda a high rating in public favor. Yet Gay could have had no feeling that he was altering stage history or the course of political events by producing this play. His motive was revenge, not reform. But the satire of *The Beggar's Opera* was on the popular level. The play had mirth, not abuse, as its medium. As a consequence, Gay's wit aroused public opinion to actual interest in the conduct of affairs and put the government on the defensive. Through originality backed by a heavy grievance, Gay surpassed all other writers against Walpole and George II; he inspired his friends to attack and forced the government to use new strategy in defense.

II

The first production of *The Beggar's Opera* occurred on January 29, 1728. The play had been on the stage only eleven days when "Abraham Standfast" brought out, on February 9, the first issue of a new government journal called the *Senator*.[1] Its first objective was to belittle the political satire of *The Beggar's Opera*. In the third issue, ridicule was turned toward the editor of the old opposition journal, the *Craftsman*, in an effort to anticipate his interpretations of Gay's play as an attack on Walpole. Under the name of Elkanah Pikestaff, the *Senator* for February 16, 1728,[1] wrote of Caleb D'Anvers,

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[1] Issued on Tuesdays and Fridays until May 28, 1728.

> He will find out a farther meaning than every Body sees in *The Beggar's Opera. Mac heath,* he will tell us, is so often mentioned as a very great Man, is introduc'd with so many great Circumstances, so full of Vices, so entangled with Perplexities and Distresses, that he cou'd never be drawn for the sake of representing a Highwayman. Time will show whether I am deceiv'd in my Art; but at present I take this to be a Bait which a small Genius like his cannot avoid nibbling at.

Such tactics as the *Senator* displayed in this passage indicate the change of government writers to a defensive policy.

This paper appeared regularly until the close of the 1728 theatrical season. In the issue of May 17 appeared its final reply to the political interpretations of Gay's play by the *Craftsman* and *Mist's Journal.*[2] Meanwhile *The Beggar's Opera* was having its sixty-two consecutive London performances and was entering upon unparalleled runs in provincial houses. In many places it had thirty or forty performances. There were fifty at Bath and the same number at Bristol; Dublin saw the play twenty-four times in succession.[3] The airs were used as tunes for new political ballads;[4] its scenes were reproduced on fans, screens, and hangings. There is plausible reason to credit the play with influence toward the act of 1729 that released prisoners held for debt,[5] for Oglethorpe's inquiry of February 25, 1729, into the condition of English jails, and for his founding the colony of Georgia in 1732 as a refuge for debtors after their release. Whether or not Gay's play had these later effects, it had national publicity in 1728 through stage production and through the political interpretations sent into every section of England by party journalists.

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[1] Undoubtedly the *Senator* had an agent on D'Anvers' staff, for on the next morning, February 17, an entire *Craftsman* was given to a political interpretation of *The Beggar's Opera.*

[2] As in *Mist's Journal* for March 2 and in the issues of the *Craftsman* for March 2 and April 13.

[3] The 1729 edition of the *Dunciad* has Pope's note to this effect on line 330 of the third book. On March 23, 1728, Swift wrote Gay that the play was then on the Dublin stage and was circulating in an Irish edition. On May 16, Gay wrote Swift that the play was being produced at Bath. F. E. Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift,* 6 vols. (1910–14), IV, 20, n. 2, and IV, 33.

[4] Thomas Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges,* 1867, p. 78; M. Percival, *Political Ballads Illustrating the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole,* 1916, pp. 20–21.

[5] A contemporary news letter asserts that this act released 97,248 prisoners. I. S. Leadam, *History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II,* 1909, p. 342.

Under such conditions it was entirely natural for Walpole to increase his newspaper subsidy and then to try new protective methods. Through 1728 he backed the *British Journal, or the Censor,*[1] edited by Roger Manley. Matthew Concanen of the treasury staff aided him and probably determined the policy. When that paper was dropped, the *Free Briton*[2] took up the burden under a heavy subsidy of £2,000 annually.[3] At the end of 1730, the *Hyp-Doctor* was started and thereafter continued in weekly issues until Walpole's power ended.[4] As another aid to Walpole, in the same year Matthew Concanen gave a new turn to party propaganda by compiling a book of articles from the *London Journal* and the *British Journal* of past years; this work he issued by subscription as the *Speculatist* under noble patronage.

The amount of subsidy behind all such government projects is indicated by the absence of advertising in these journals, by government misuse of mail distribution, and most significantly by the charges of bribery found in papers of the opposition. A part of the financial outlay for this defensive work is summarized in *State Papers* that review Walpole's administration. During the investigations of the Secret Committee of 1742, Walpole admitted that he had spent £5,000 a year on the newspapers[5] and that his treasury clerks as aides had covered up accounts by personal transfers of the large sums for secret service. A check of the treasury records from 1729 to 1745 shows expenditures of more than £5,000 yearly on four government journals[6] and over £4,000 a year for printing.[7] Walpole admitted far less than his actual expenditures for party-writing, as the records indicate. But the records themselves are incomplete, for many sums were then entered "without account." Moreover, there is certainty that very considerable sums not traced were being used regularly as subsidy of other government journals then in circulation. From contemporary evidence we know that in 1727 Walpole's secret service fund had mounted to a total of £120,000.[1] That sum was surely exceeded after 1728, for then he was carrying increased costs for propaganda and for the elaborate investigations preliminary to continuous prosecution of hostile journals.

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[1] A weekly, issued from January 4, 1728, to January 27, 1729.

[2] Two hundred ninety-four issues between December 4, 1729, and June 16, 1735.

[3] *Cal. of State Papers*, 1729–45, *passim.*

[4] Issued from December 15, 1730, until January 20, 1741.

[5] *Commons Journals*, XXIV, 295.

[6] The *Free Briton*, the *Daily Courant* and *Double Courant*, the *Corn-Cutter's Journal*, and the *London Journal.*

[7] *Cal. of State Papers*, 1729–45, *passim.*

The government prosecutions of 1728 and 1729 centered upon two opposition sheets, the *Craftsman* and *Mist's Journal*.[2] This phase of Walpole's protective policy had a special relation to *The Beggar's Opera*, for both papers then had articles from Gay and Swift continuing the type of attack in the ballad opera. In 1729 Arbuthnot wrote of Gay that he was "one of the destructions to the peace of Europe, the terror of Ministers," and that in addition to work on *Fog's Journal* he was "the chief writer on the *Craftsman*."[3] Swift himself, and possibly Pope, was as deeply involved in the latter paper.[4] All three men, however, were safe from prosecution because writing anonymously. The printers and editors were the only persons liable for issuing unsigned seditious materials; as the *State Papers* indicate, government officials were aware of this fact and were cautious in entering charges.

Serviceable spies began in March, 1728, to report to Lord Townshend, Walpole, and Delafaye regarding the activities of those who kept *Mist's Journal* alive after Mist himself had fled to France for safety.[5] In April, Edmund Curll found it profitable to turn spy[6] and to point out the press at which *Mist's Journal* had been printed. During the following months, many secret reports were made regarding that sheet, and finally in August, 1728, formal examination of several printers was begun. The effort to punish men for printing Mist's paper was baffled by such professions as John Wilford's; he swore on September 19 that he had taken over the publication of *Mist's Journal* in order to aid the government by weakening its tone.[1] Another printer, William Burton, asserted that he had merely lent his press.[2] Actual search of Mist's house for new evidence brought out nothing incriminating others.[3] In spite of government efforts, this prosecution merely forced a change of the name to *Fog's Journal.* The real cause of failure on the part of government prosecutors is best shown, perhaps, by evidence in a manuscript letter concerning another printer named Farley. He was arrested under charge of treason for having reprinted an article from *Mist's Journal,* but direct action against him seemed impossible. Methods of procedure were not clear. In September, 1728, therefore, in order to get immediate action on such cases as this, the "Grand Jury of Middlesex humbly pray'd in their presentment that all printers and Publishers might be brought to condign punishment."[4]

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[1] "A speech against Sir R—— W——'s Proposal for Increasing the Civil List Revenue," by W—— S——, 1727, p. 17.

[2] *Mist's Journal* stopped under prosecution on September 21, 1728; its successor, *Fog's Journal*, began to appear on September 28.

[3] Letter to Swift, March 19, 1729, Swift's *Works* (1883 ed.), XVII, 233.

[4] Pope was named as a *Craftsman* writer in the *Hyp-Doctor*, No. 48, November 9, 1731.

[5] Evidence for this and other statements regarding prosecutions is from manuscript letters in *S.P. Dom.* George II, 1728–32, bundles 5–26. From this point reference in every case is given merely to bundle and folio.

Bdl. 8, f. 33.

The *Craftsman* group gave the prosecutors as much trouble as Mist's men by shifting responsibility from one to another at their trial in April, 1728.[5] In July, 1729, the *Craftsman* printer, R. Francklin, proved his training in evasion by denying that the issue of July 12, bearing his name, was printed in his office. He said that he had never heard of any other printer of his name, and that he had not sought for anyone misusing his name on that seditious copy.[6]

These instances illustrate the new feeling that government prosecutions, even for treason, must conform to legal procedure and that no man could be compelled to testify against himself. Public opinion had become too strong against the government for use of any irregular methods. Consequently, the attorney-general, Philip Yorke, began seeking grounds for legal action against publishers and writers of seditious materials. As one move he proposed to pay high rewards for seditious manuscripts in order to get at the actual authors. He also searched for precedents to justify restriction of free speech against the crown and the ministry.[1] One action of the House of Commons, under George I, was cited for ordering immediate arrests, namely, the appointment of a libel committee to arraign Mist back in May, 1721.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, f. 77.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 86.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 259.

[4] A strange item regarding the case of Wolf, actually Mist's printer, indicates that he received £15,000 for turning over a desired copy of the paper and that he fled the country after reimbursing his sureties for failure to appear for examination (Bdl. 8, f. 54).

[5] Bdl. 6, f. 49.

[6] Bdl. 13, f. 89.

Yorke was baffled, however, by one trick of the opposition printers whereby they reprinted articles on the revolutionary events of 1688 as though they were of historical importance. The actual reason lay in the direct application of these documents to events of 1730. The following summary of Yorke's case against *Fog's Journal* in 1730 shows a caution born of experience: "The general View of printing it is sufficiently evident to private Conviction, and therefore it would not only warrant, but call for a Severe prosecution if there was legall grounds to hope for Success. On the other hand to commence a charge of soe high a nature, and fail in it, might be attended with consequences which one would wish to avoid."[3] This may stand as a secret confession of Walpole's aides, that after three years of effort they were unable to stop printed protests against the government under the existing laws. In short, this belief and the continuous increase of all party-writing after 1728 convinced the government that the press of England was to be free. Whatever were Sir Robert Walpole's shortcomings, he was too farsighted to renew the act of censorship that lapsed in 1695. Perhaps he saw the irony of fate in his own discomforture by opposition journalists after he had made party newspapers a chief means to his own power for nearly twenty years. Walpole created systematic party propaganda and was himself destroyed by it.

III

A change in dramatic history after 1728 arose from this need of the government to create favorable public opinion by new measures. As in its prosecution of rival party journals, the government slowly worked out ways of self-protection against dramatic satire, and incidentally with such success that theatrical producers in England still feel the effects. The Lord Chamberlain had certain powers of censorship before 1728 but nothing approaching the rights finally given him under the Licensing Act of 1737. That act had its origin in *The Beggar's Opera* and its final cause in the censorious plays of Henry Fielding. Through the old powers of the Lord Chamberlain, Walpole had stopped the performance of *Polly*, Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*. This was an open political move. The Preface of *Polly*, printed with the play on March 25, 1729, tells the story of Gay's call on the Lord Chamberlain which ended with an absolute refusal to permit the play to be acted. That visit was on December 7, 1728. Two months earlier a farce on the government side had been staged under the title of *The Craftsman, or the Weekly Journalist.*

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[1] Letter of August 24, 1728, bdl. 8, f. 66.

[2] Bdl. 26, f. 58.

[3] Letter to the Duke of Newcastle June 29, 1730, bdl. 19, f. 26.

As in the subsidizing of its own newspapers, Walpole's administration had begun to use the stage for political purposes. In return for these acts of aggression, the opposition took its revenge upon Colley Cibber. He had written a pastoral, *Love in a Riddle,* on the pattern of *The Beggar's Opera,* and presented it at Drury Lane on January 7, 1729. On the first night, Gay's friends filled the theater with cat calls and the next night the play was withdrawn. The government would have derived no benefit from Cibber's lines, but was obliged to endure this persecution of the writer vaguely charged with causing the prohibition of Gay's *Polly.* During the years from 1729 until 1737, when the Licensing Act put new restrictions on all stage performances, the opposition group used the stage for political satire without successful hindrance; no dramatist on the side of the government was equal to the task of resisting the tradition originated by Gay and carried forward by Henry Fielding.

The facts regarding the political plays of the years preceding Fielding's are well known. Such is not the case regarding a government plan to foster its own dramatic enterprise that was initiated within six months after *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed A government patent was drawn in July, 1728, to grant an imposing group of George II's nobility the right to produce operas and other musical entertainments under protection for a term of twenty-one years; to use as the name, the Royal Academy of Music; and to control their own playhouse, actors, and musicians. One provision was that the corporation should be allowed to eject and to disable from acting any scandalous or mutinous persons. Through the power of veto, the governor of the opera was to have absolute control of his fifteen or twenty directors, but he himself was to be subject to their annual election. The extravagant scale of the entire plan is shown by the requirement of £200 as the price of membership and the proposal to grant two votes to anyone subscribing £600. This unusually heavy subscription was to meet "the great expenses of Scenes Musick and such new Decorations as have not been formerely used."[1] This patent was intended to re-establish the Royal Academy of Music at the Haymarket, where the nobility had enjoyed foreign musical entertainments until *The Beggar's Opera* set a new vogue. With evident satisfaction, the *Craftsman* of August 31, 1728, reported the failure of the project to restore Italian opera, crediting Gay with having made ridiculous the effort to promote foreign musical and dramatic entertainments to the exclusion of native productions.

This failure of the nobility to reassert control over London amusements is only one evidence of their waning power. Class rule of political parties was broken, real freedom of the press became possible, and English men of letters freed themselves from partisan attachments. Through its unique combination of political, social, and dramatic satire, *The Beggar's Opera* aided powerfully in this invasion of aristocratic prerogative. John Gay undoubtedly was unconscious of his part in bringing these benefits to English society; he was, however, fully aware of the political consequences of *The Beggar's Opera*. Perhaps Gay never read Fletcher of Saltoun's sententious observation that "if a man were allowed to make all the ballads, he need not care who made the laws of a nation"; yet it is a pleasing fancy to suppose that someone called his attention to this saying uttered twenty-five years before the production of his famous play.

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[1] MS, Patent Books 1727–29, bdl. 31, folios 185–94. The patent was drafted in June, 1728, and was confirmed under Privy Seal on July 27. The closest parallel to this project is the one that gave John Rich in 1732 his new Covent Garden Theater through a subscription fund of £6,000. Cf. A. Thaler, *Shakspere to Sheridan*, 1922, p. 213.

HOGARTH'S "DISTRESSED POET"

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Hogarth's engraving of "The Distressed Poet" binds to itself the interest of a student of eighteenth-century literature by three principal threads. The conception of the picture is that the rewards of poetry in the seventeen thirties were a garret and a bare cupboard. An episodical picture within the picture shows Pope cudgeling a prostrate Curll for daring to publish his *Letters*.[1] The distressed poet in the picture has been supposed, by the guess of more than one historian of literature, to be a likeness of Lewis Theobald. The purpose of this article is to point out that Hogarth did not himself conceive the idea of the picture, but borrowed it from a casual article in a newspaper; and to observe what bearing this fact has upon a strand of literary tradition.

"The Distressed Poet" is one of the most ingratiating, though it is not the greatest, of Hogarth's engravings. With the aid of Austin Dobson's almost equally ingratiating description of it and a much reduced reproduction, the reader may conjure up some of the charm of the original engraving:[2]

> Was Goldsmith thinking of the *Distrest Poet* when, in August, 1758, he described himself as "in a garret, writing for bread, and expecting to be dunned for a milk-score"? Except that the milkmaid has already arrived, and is angrily exhibiting her tally, this is the precise *status quo* of Hogarth's print. The poor verseman, high in his Grub-Street or "Porridge-Island" sky-parlor, has risen by candlelight to finish a poem on "Riches" for some contemporary Curll. He is exactly in the case of Cowper's bard—
>
> "Who having whelp'd a prologue with much pains,
> Feels himself spent, and fumbles for his brains."
>
> Neither the map of the "Gold Mines of Peru" upon his walls, nor Bysshe's "Art of Poetry," nor "all his books around," a magnificent total of three (we

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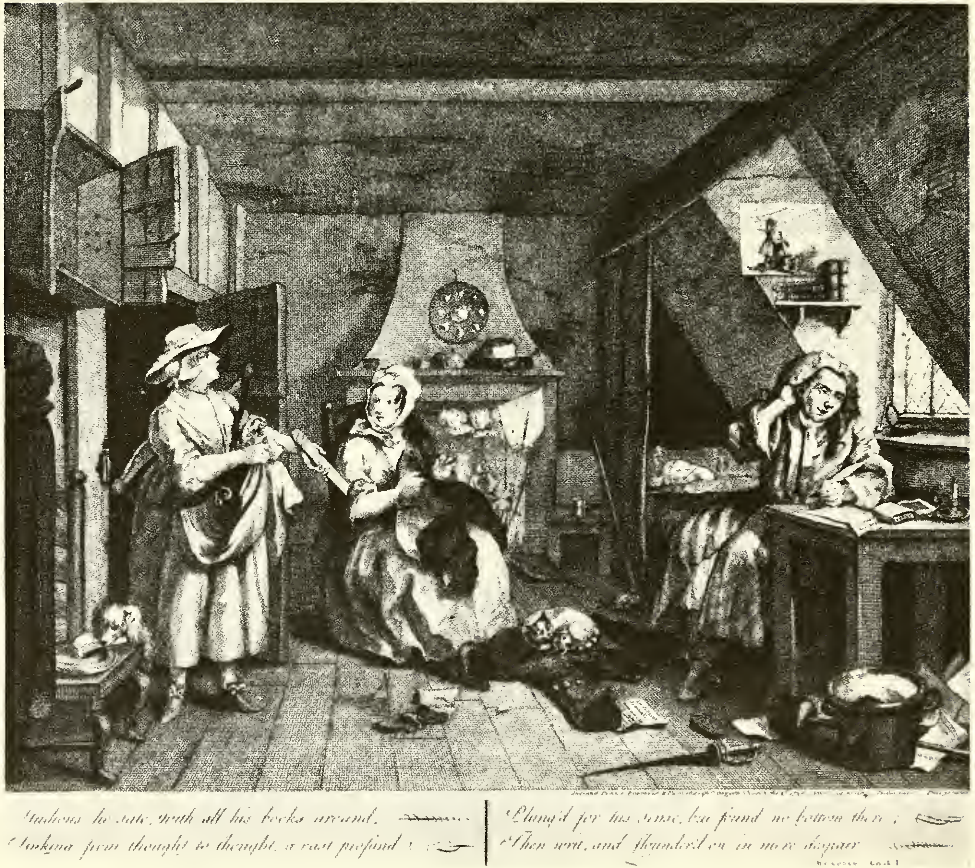
[1] This is the engraving in its earlier state (1736). Subsequently (1740), Hogarth altered the plate, and reissued the engraving with a different picture hanging on the garret wall and with other changes. The original painting, from which the engraving was made, was in the possession of the Duke of Westminster in 1909.

[2] For another description, see H. B. Wheatley, *Hogarth's London*, 1909, pp. 231–35.


Studious he sate, with all his books around,
Sinking from thought to thought, a vast profound!
Plung'd for his sense, but found no bottom there;
Then writ, and flounder'd on, in mere despair.
Dunciad.

THE DISTRESSED POET

are describing the impression of 1740), can help him at his need. Meanwhile his vociferous creditor (with the Michaelmas daisies round her hat) clamours for the score; the awakened child is crying, and the wind whistles "through the broken pane." He has a consolation, however, that poor Goldsmith lacked through life, one of the sweetest female companions Hogarth ever drew. She is the ancestress of Thackeray's "Mrs. Shandon," this patient conciliatory lady. And (O bathos! O "most lame and impotent conclusion!") she is repairing her husband's small clothes, while the cat and kittens nestle cosily upon his worship's coat.

The newspaper article, from which the engraving derives, is in the form of a letter addressed to the editor, "Mr. Bavius," which has never been reprinted hitherto:

Facetious Master Bavius,

Tho' your letters are for the most part calculated to raise mirth in your readers, yet, I observe, you are not so much rivetted to the humourous, as intirely to disapprove of the serious, *i.e.* any thing tending to edification. My circumstances at present are very deplorable, as you'll find by the sequel; and I am reduced, by the many ill-judged flights of my youth, and the powerful *scribendi cacoethes,* to the solitary condition of a garetteer. Others may perhaps reflect on my sad mishaps, and avoid running into the same inconveniences; and therefore, tho' in this necessitous condition, you can reasonably expect no other, than that I should prove as stupid, as tho' born *crasso sub aere, patria vervecum;* yet, as I've such a fit upon me of compassion for those many poor retrograde wretches who are running thoughtless into the same starvling way, I flatter myself, you are such a friend to mankind, that you will soon insert this in one of you[r] Papers.

My mother dying, left me a small estate of 44 l. per ann. and I stood fair, upon my uncle's decease, (who has since taken care to clip my wings by disinheriting me) for near 10,000 l.—In order to enjoy all this, and to make a proper figure in life, my friends bestowed on me a good school education: and after I had made a reasonable proficiency in classical learning, at the age of 16, I came up to London, and entered into articles of clerkship with a very eminent attorney. He being a good-natured indulgent master, I gave myself a great many airs: and if in the kindest manner he rebuked me for my misconduct, instead of excusing, and promising to reform it, with an unbecoming churlishness I ungratefully rejected his advice; and wholly neglecting affairs of the greatest importance, I applied myself solely to the buskin occupation, *i.e.* I turned playmonger.—In short, having, as I thought, produced a good likely babe of my brain, I offered it to the house: but to my very great mortification, some few days after, I was informed, that the brat was not worth owning, and that the managers would advance no coin at all, it being likely to prove as woeful a tragedy, as ever was tragedized on the British stage.

My master, Sir, has twice turned me out of doors. I have now a wife, and a poor babe at the breast, as well as one of the pericranium, to take care of. Here is the bauling milk-woman at the foot of the stairs, raving in Billingsgate, for her money, and shewing a frightful score of a long standing. In an old broken chair yonder sits my good wife, botching my breeches, with a parcel of rags, of different colours. In the middle of my garret lies the cat upon my thread-bare coat, mewing with her kittens; and I myself am scratching my head, and gnawing my nails to the quick, endeavoring to draw a few fustian verses from my hard-bound brains. Having lived upon a sparing milk-diet these three weeks, (not on account of the gout) I am grown so lank, that after being muse-ridden so long, I fancy myself a fit hackney for some Lapland witch.

This, Sir, is a specimen of what poor poets may be reduced to, and of the sad consequences which attend those who sorrily misspend their time. A man cannot well be idle, and there's no standing still in life: but how weak it is, for those who are blessed with a good capacity, not to make some laudable use of it! Such has been the sad effect of my mal-practices: and 'tis ten to one, but in a very short time, I shall have no other cloaths, but a stone doublet, to my back.

May this serve as a caution to all youth in general, who are put to any genteel business in this great city: especially to all attorneys clerks, to those in the several offices, young apothecaries, surgeons, linnen-drapers, &c. not to haunt play-houses. Where, from first pretending to judge of plays, they will be gradually drawn in to imagine themselves able to write one: which, proving unsuccessful, and their spirits being quite broken by continual disappointments, they will at last retain no mark or character of a poet, but the poverty: like

your pennyless bard, and humble servant,

OMICRON

P.S. My wife is talking of cutting out my breeches pockets (for she says I make no use of them) in order to make me a stout night-cap.—Consonant enough to a stone doublet, faith and troth.

From my garret, in Hounsditch, up
3 pair of stairs. Ap. 20, 1734.

When Austin Dobson wrote his description (to accompany a reproduction of the engraving itself on another page), he knew nothing of the letter to Mr. Bavius. Yet a comparison of the two reveals great likeness. If the comparison be made between the original engraving and the letter, there is little room to doubt a filial relationship between them.

The engraving was published and first placed on sale on March 3, 1736. The letter was published two years earlier, in the *Grub-street*

Journal of May 2, 1734. That the engraving was subsequent in date to the letter is further proved by the inserted picture, hanging on the garret wall, in which Pope is belaboring Curll for surreptitiously publishing Pope's *Letters*, a volume that made its first appearance on May 12, 1735; both the *Letters* and the ensuing quarrel were a nine days' wonder in the spring and early summer of 1735. What Hogarth did was to translate the printed page of the letter to Mr. Bavius into his own medium. And, as if to acknowledge his indebtedness and render our assurance double sure, he has marked a newspaper lying on the garret floor in plain letters *Grubstreet Journal.*

If the question has already risen in the mind of the reader, was Hogarth the writer of the letter in the *Grub-street Journal?* I can only say, the answer is not yet forthcoming. Information concerning those who conducted the *Journal* and those who contributed to it is fragmentary and unsatisfying. If investigation should implicate Hogarth in another association with it, an answer may be easier to find.

"The Distressed Poet," considered as an independent invention of Hogarth the great satirist, can easily be interpreted as an arraignment of the poor circumstances of literary men in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. So interpreted, it perhaps helped to the Macaulayan exaggeration, inferred mainly from the distresses that Dr. Johnson, Savage, Boyse, and "a crowd of others" endured: "Johnson came up to London precisely at the time when the condition of a man of letters was most miserable and degraded. It was a dark night between two sunny days. . . . . All that is squalid and miserable might now be summed up in the word Poet." But when the engraving is perceived to be the embodiment in a picture of the matter of the letter to Mr. Bavius, it becomes the history of an individual, not the indictment of an age.

The connection between the engraving and the letter in the *Journal* practically discards, too, the guess that the poet in the engraving is a likeness of Theobald. The guess, originating (1787 ?) with George Steevens, has had a long history. Churton Collins in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1898, article on Lewis Theobald) and H. B. Wheatley in *Hogarth's London* (1909) have given it currency in recent times. Steevens was seeking portraits of the previous editors and commentators upon Shakespeare, and could not find one of Theobald. He wrote:

> A portrait of this useful critic is among the *desiderata* of those gentlemen who cultivate the *fermes ornées* of literature, and embellish the Plays of Shakespeare with a series of characteristic prints, engraved and published by the ingenious Mr. S. Harding, of Pall Mall.—An acknowledged painting, however of Mr. Theobald has hitherto escaped research. His son, indeed, has been heard to say that no resemblance of him has been preserved. This deficiency may therefore prove a lasting one, unless conjecture, fortified by coincidence, be allowed to fill a vacant picture-frame in our Gallery of Editors.[1]

Upon conjecture, he inserted the "Distressed Poet" into the series as a portrait of Theobald.

The "fortifying coincidences" have been summarized by Mr. Wheatley, who accepts the conjecture as a plausible one. They are two. First, the four lines of verse beneath the engraving (state of 1736) are from the form of the *Dunciad* which still had Theobald for its hero. Second, the title of the composition the poet is struggling over is "Poverty, a Poem," and Theobald wrote a poem named "The Cave of Poverty, a Poem."

It is true, the four quoted lines are from a passage in the *Dunciad* which describes Theobald and mentions him by name:

> In each she [Dulness] marks her image full exprest, 105
> But chief, in Tibbald's monster-breeding breast;
> Sees Gods with Daemons in strange league ingage,
> And earth, and heav'n, and hell her battles wage.
> She ey'd the Bard, where supperless he sate,
> And pin'd, unconscious of his rising fate. 110
> Studious he sate, with all his books around,
> Sinking from thought to thought, a vast profound!
> Plung'd for his sense, but found no bottom there;
> Then writ, and flounder'd on, in mere despair.
> He roll'd his eyes that witness'd huge dismay, 115
> Where yet unpawn'd, much learned lumber lay:
> Volumes, whose size . . . . [a large library is described] [Book I].

The four lines quoted by Hogarth are 111–14. But in place of the "all his books," the extensive library Theobald was known to have, the engraving displays a total of six volumes.

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[1] See Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History*, II (1817), 745.

Theobald's place of residence was not indicative of distressful poverty. For eight or ten years he had resided, and was to reside for a decade longer, in Wyan's Court, Great Russel Street, Bloomsbury, a locality almost as far removed from a Hounsditch garret in social scale as in geography.

The "Cave of Poverty" had been published by Theobald in 1715, nearly twenty years earlier than the letter in the *Journal.* But in the intervening years he had produced numerous works—far too many to make the "one [babe] of the pericranium" in anywise a fitting allusion to him, much less a description of him.

The whole conception of the picture, a poet in poverty, was at just this time little applicable to Theobald. His work as editor was far more prominent in 1734–36 than his poetical efforts. His edition of Shakespeare, in seven octavo volumes, was published in January, 1734—three months before the letter in the *Journal* and two years before the engraving. It was published by subscription, with the names of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal heading a list of more than four hundred, including persons of fashion and importance. Theobald's receipts from the edition were upward of twelve hundred guineas, more than five times the sum Pope had procured for his edition nine years earlier. And Hogarth could not have been unaware of the success of Theobald's undertaking, for he was himself one of the subscribers.

The *Grub-street Journal,* never cordial and sometimes decidedly harsh in its treatment of Theobald, had distinct praise for his edition of Shakespeare within a few weeks of the time of this letter to Mr. Bavius. In the minds of the editors, contributors, and readers of the *Journal,* Theobald could not easily have appeared to be at one and the same time both a middle-aged, successful editor (pecuniarily) of the greatest of English classics and a poverty-bitten, youthful tyro in verse-making.

Four years after initial publication the engraving was reissued by Hogarth (December, 1740) in an altered state. The four lines quoted from the *Dunciad* were omitted; the inserted picture was altered from Pope chastising Curll to a map called "A View of the Gold Mines of Peru"; the number of books lying around was halved; and the poem a-borning on the Poet's desk was renamed "Riches," instead of "Poverty." In these alterations William Richardson (see Nichols, *Illustrations*, II, 746, note) discovered contrition on the part of Hogarth and an attempt to expunge his satire upon Theobald. But if the poet never did represent Theobald, some other motive must have actuated Hogarth. The name of the paper lying on the floor beside the poet's foot was left, legible and significant, *Grub-street Journal.*

THE IDEAS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS

C. B. Cooper
Armour Institute

Like many other enthusiasts whose zeal surpasses their judgment and whose power of expression is inadequate to their ideas, Captain Thomas Morris has found no place in the history of literature. Even in his own day he can have exercised no great influence: Garrick had gone to his final rest twelve years before the captain's strictures upon his art had appeared in print; nor is it certain that the admired Du Menil ever read his extravagant praise of her acting, although she lived till the year XI of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality. Owing to its significance for the early history of America, one of Morris' few productions has been reprinted. This is the *Journal,* which bears the date, "Detroit, September 25, 1764." This brief but extremely interesting narrative of personal experience and observation among the Indians is given in full by Mr. Thwaites in *Early Western Travels,* Cleveland, 1904. No similar attention apparently has been paid to the other pieces in the *Miscellanies / in / Prose and Verse,* London, 1791. This little volume of one hundred and eighty-one pages represents the author's contribution to letters, and presents the views of one who would cheerfully have undertaken nothing less than the reformation of the British theater of his time.

We are informed in the Preamble that the author himself and his father and grandfather had all been captains in the seventeenth regiment of foot and his uncle, lieutenant colonel in the same regiment. Because of financial losses, not specified, he made up his mind to enter a claim on the government, and drew up a memorial to that end. He failed, however, to find a mediator, and abandoned the idea of presenting the memorial. It was owing to the inducements of a personal friend that he finally resolved to publish his works, in the hope that he might thereby "secure a protector for his children." On any other grounds, the captain declares, he would have persisted in his desire "to lie concealed in domestic life, in which he has been amply gratified by the obliging silence of some of his nearest connexions."

We are further informed that the author studied the French language in obedience to a vow made to his father and that he learned the language in the school of the theaters of Paris, which he frequented assiduously for a period of fifteen months. Here he came to regard the *Phaedra* of Racine as the incomparable masterpiece of French tragedy, and he translated that play into English with the hope that it would serve as a model for some English actress. Furthermore, he succeeded in obtaining from Mr. Harris the promise of his theater for the experiment in adaptation; but the attempt to induce a principal performer recommended by Harris to assume the title rôle proved a failure, and Morris was denied the satisfaction of thus becoming the reformer of English theatrical elocution.

In the latter aim, however, no disappointment served to check the captain's interest and enthusiasm, inspired as they were by his witnessing as a young man in Paris the acting of the famous Du Menil. Her powers of recitation and impersonation produced what he has himself characterized as an "extravagant" admiration, an admiration which occasioned his disgust with the recitation of verse by Garrick and with the entire contemporary British theater, and directly inspired his "Letter to a Friend on the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre and the Manner of Acting Tragedy."

This very outspoken document concedes to Garrick "many transcendent qualities"—animation, thorough conception of character, skill in managing his voice, graceful deportment, and mute play—but Morris insists that "verses and Garrick were not made to agree," and that the faults of the popular idol were exaggerated by his imitators who had none of his real merits. In the critic's opinion, the real explanation of the deplorable state of affairs lies in the fact that "Shakespeare wrote from his heart; Garrick played from his head. . . . ." Hence arose "the sudden and unnatural transition of voice; the studied, and always premature, start; the pantomime gesture; and all trick, calculated to produce what is called stage-effect." All of these, Morris says, are "miserable expedients, fit only for a booth in a fair, not for the royal theatres of the metropolis." In contrast he states his recollections of the acting of Du Menil:

> *She*, indeed, acted as Shakespeare wrote; and often have I said to myself with a sigh: "O that thou hadst been a man, and born in England! and that honest Will Shakespeare could be alive again to see thee in his tragical dramas!" What a Macbeth, what a Lear, what an Othello, what a Hamlet, what a Richard, would she have made! Angels might have stooped from their skies, to behold the scene; and have shed celestial tears.

In fine, the enthusiast despairs of the English drama so long as imitators keep up the tradition of what he considers the worst defects of Garrick. And yet, he declares, a direct return to nature so long banished from the stage would not prove a remedy for the existing evils. For any real advance in art, models are necessary, and these, Morris says, are to be found in Quin for reciting and in Du Menil for acting, tragedy. He is ready to undertake to furnish these models through his own observation and recollections. "Thus may Garrick's imitative acting and bad recitation be lost forever; and tragedians learn to move the heart by true feelings, and delight the ear with poetic melody."

If Morris was an enthusiastic admirer of French dramatic art, he was no less fervent in his praise of the French nation. As a soldier and traveler in the American wilderness he was much impressed by the difference between the English and the French in their conduct toward the Indians, and his verdict is unreservedly in favor of the French for their treatment of "an innocent, much-abused, and once happy people." He sharply contrasts their "justice and benevolence" with "the wrongs and haughty treatment which the Indians have received from their present masters," with the result "that to this hour the savages say, that the French and they are one people." On the other hand, "The ill conduct of a few dissolute pedlars has often cost the lives of thousands of his Majesty's most industrious subjects, who were just emerging from the gloom of toil and want to the fair prospect of ease and contentment." With such a point of view it is not strange that the author welcomed the beginnings of the French Revolution and cherished high hopes for its benefits, or that he ventured to promise much on behalf of his own countrymen. He concludes his volume with five odes on the Revolution, each of which he translates into French prose, apparently with the hope that they may be read and known across the Channel. As the author informs us that these translations were revised and corrected by MM. D. C. Y. and S, it is not certain whether these assistants or the author supplied the concluding note: "Ceux des Français, qui ont connu l'auteur au siège de la Martinique, se souviendront peut-être de l'estime qu'il a toujours montrée pour leur nation, & ne seront pas surpris que cette estime se soit changée en admiration."

The odes are addressed: "To the National Assembly of France"; "To the Unknown Author of Lessons to a Young Prince"; "To Lewis the Sixteenth, King of France"; "To the French Army"; and "For the 14th of July, 1791." The first strophe of the first ode illustrates the style and mood of these compositions:

Within that city's walls, of Gaul the pride,
Where Sequana devolves her silver tide,
The friends of man their state assume,
While tyrants fly a shameful doom.
Aweful the sages sit, like demi-gods of old;
But demi-gods were warriors big and bold;
Pacific heroes these, with minds of giant mould.
The slave of law-less power
Foretells that happy hour,
When millions shall enjoy a better fate:
The nations of the world with trembling ardour wait.
It is not in a spacious plain,
Horrific with the mangled slain,
But in Lutetia, sought by all,
That Athens of the polish'd Gaul,
That honest Glory takes her stand,
The rod of iron hurls from Gallic land
And with a golden sceptre decks the monarch's hand.

Under these auspicious circumstances hypocrisy has fled the earth, along with the "Gothic tribe" of drones, and to the assembly falls the task of reforming the world and all its abuses. Here are:

A thousand Alfreds in one cause combin'd,
To break the shackles of the human mind,
To succor, bless, inform, and dignify mankind.

These modern philanthropists surpass the sages of Greece and Rome, and will restore simplicity and honor by taking for their model "Albion's sage laws," obviously the best in the world.

The second ode hails the author of *Lessons to a Young Prince* as leader of the van in the war of reason; but advises him to spend his efforts not in censuring the great but in devising a plan for a government modeled on that of Alfred:

O! could my bosom feel like thine,
My soul with equal transport glow,
Enraptured with the vast design
Of fixing liberty and peace below;
Of planting balms and flow'rs, where weeds and poisons grow;
How would I scorn the narrow-minded crew,
Ever factious, never true,
Whether the monarch's or the people's friends;
Who, like the nymphs that nightly rove,
Prostitute for hire their love,
And speak with angels' tongues, to serve their private ends.
But selfish freedom is a jest;
Freedom cannot make us blest,
Unless the love of man possess the breast.
With British liberty, indulgent heav'n,
To me thy better grace be giv'n,
That loveliest virtue, Charity bestow;
O! humanize my heart, to bleed at others' woe,
And for emancipated Gaul with floods of joy o'er-flow.

If Morris could see no farther into the actual course of events than his contemporaries, he was surely surpassed by no one of them in the fervor and generosity of his hopes; and his ode to the king of the French shows him clearly in possession of one of the finest ideals of our own time:

I

Great Lewis, heavn's peculiar care,
Born with the mildest virtues, which engage
A polish'd and enlighten'd age,
Happiest of all who sceptres bear,
Thy meekness shall increase of honour bring,
And all thy people hail their father and their king.
What hath Gaul or Gaul's kings gain'd,
By pow'r with arms maintain'd?
The people starv'd and bled, the monarch mourn'd and reign'd.
The world is one great commonweal,
And bainful of the patriot's zeal:
Hark! the brazen trumpets blow;
Glitt'ring in steel, what numbers come and go!

Mars is rous'd, Rome's eagles fly;
To arms, and let the nations die;
The patriot murders for his country's good:
Io triumphe! bring the victor's meed;
Barbarian carcasses the vultures feed,
And seamen dip their oars in tides of human blood.

II

But now the martial brass shall cease,
Lewis, thou shalt rule in peace;
Long be thy reign, great prince, and still thy fame encrease:
Commerce and credit shall revive,
The finer arts improve, and manufactures thrive.
The tyrant may in war excel;
But Alfred thought, and govern'd well:
His system learn, which few have understood.

With such a lesson taken to heart, and with the noblest Englishmen purging their own corrupted commonweal, Morris anticipates a true *entente cordiale:*

Then Gaul and Britain, rival pow'rs, but kind,
In virtue rigid, and in arts refin'd,
Like two accomplish'd sisters, might delight mankind:
Then too, in George and Lewis might we see
Philosophy and royalty agree;
See the king, citizen, and sage combine,
Lewis and George their ancestors outshine,
And Alfred's wisdom grace the Brunswick and the Bourbon line!

Inspired by the fellow-feelings of a soldier, Morris addressed his best ode to the French army:

To you, brave men, the praise is due;
Gaul her freedom owes to you:
A great, a glorious change I see;
Warriors can serve, and yet be free;
The rugged sons of Mars have learnt philanthropy:
False honour's call your noble hearts withstood,
And shudder'd at the thoughts of shedding kindred blood.
Thou, man of war, wherever born,
To forge thy country's fetters scorn;
Of peace and freedom be the friend;
But when the martial trumpet blows,
With zeal the patriot cause defend;

Bold deeds with bolder deeds oppose;
Then, then be more than man, and terrify thy foes:
The battle won, this song of triumph sing:
"I conquer'd; I obey'd the nation, law, and king!"

Such a patriotic and enlightened host is to be regarded as the surest guaranty against foreign invasion, he thinks; and in behalf of his own nation he ventures a promise:

Yet Britain will not forge your chains;
Britain despotism disdains;
In George we all the gentlest virtues trace;
And Chatham's gen'rous blood must love the human race:
Should some rash minister, whate'er his line,
Harbor such a base design,
'T would rouse the nation's wrath, and plunge him in disgrace.

If English poets greater than Morris have sung the glories of the French Revolution, not one of them spoke out more boldly or more to the purpose on the first anniversary of that momentous event.

Let Britons celebrate the day
Which liberty to Gallia gave;
Away, ye jealous thoughts, away;
The brave should ever love the brave:
Gallia her freedom has by valour won;
For valour finish'd that which wisdom had begun.
And sure, since freedom is at stake,
That happy hour is near at hand,
When Britain shall from slumber wake,
And drive corruption from the land:
Ere dire calamities her isle befall,
And civil war and horror burst on all.
Think then, ye worthies, think in time,
How to avert the threat'ning storm;
Think that delay becomes a crime,
And O! begin the great reform:
While, in Polonia's distant plains,
Th' astonish'd peasant drops his chains,
Teach a wrong'd people to resume control;
To trace corruption to its source,
And stop its desolating course:
Great Alfred's folk-mote would reclaim the whole,
And into every breast infuse a patriot soul.

PERCY AND HIS NANCY

G. L. Kittredge
Harvard University

In 1825 somebody presented to Sheffield Grace, a gentleman of antiquarian note in his day, a little sheaf of Percy Papers relating to "O Nancy, will you go with me?" and also an exquisite calligraphic copy of the song, with Thomas Carter's music. The inscription, so beautifully written that it has been mistaken for engraving, runs as follows:

> These interesting documents illustrative of the origin of the celebrated ballad Oh Nanny wilt thou gang with me were discovered among a collection of MSS belonging to the late Bishop Percy & are now presented to Sheffield Grace Esq^r^, F.S.A In acknowledgement of the gratification derived from the cultivated taste and amiable feelings displayed in his Memoirs of the Family of Grace and in testimony of sincere and lasting regard by his much obliged Friend
> W. S. M.

I cannot identify W. S. M., but he or she may have been a member of the Meade family.[1] Grace immediately passed the gift along to a lady whom he addresses as "My dear Duchess" in his letter of presentation (July 28, 1825), inserted in the volume. The mention of "Avington" in this letter proves that Grace was addressing his distant kinswoman, the first Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos. James Brydges, third Duke of Chandos, had died in 1789, and his title died with him. In 1796, his sole heiress, the Lady Anna Eliza Brydges, married Richard Grenville, whom George IV created (in 1822) Earl Temple of Stowe, Marquis of Chandos, and Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Avington,[2] near Winchester, had been in the Brydges family for generations and was a part of the Lady Anna Eliza's inheritance. Grace had already dedicated to this same great lady his *Memoirs of the Family of Grace,* 1823. It was perhaps the fact that her name was Anna that suggested this particular gift. The duchess died in 1836, the duke in 1839. Their son ran through his property at lightning speed. Grace's pretty little volume of curiosities may have been sold along with other effects of the second duke at the time of his *débâcle.* It has recently been acquired by the Harvard College Library.

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[1] Percy's second daughter (Elizabeth) married the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, son of the Earl of Clanwilliam, in 1801 (see Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, IV (1810), Appendix, p. xcix). The Graces were allied to the Meades (see Sheffield Grace's *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*, p. 83).

[2] Doyle, *Official Baronage*, I, 264–67, 358; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage* (ed., Gibbs), II, 408–9; Woodward, Wilks, and Lockhart, *A General History of Hampshire*, II, 40–48; Duthy, *Sketches of Hampshire*, [1839,] pp. 193, 198–200 (with a pretty view of Avington House and the Itchen); *Annual Register* for 1848, *Chronicle*, pp. 65–66; for 1861, *Chronicle* pp. 408–10. Avington was bought by John Shelley, the poet's younger brother, and is now the seat of the Shelley family (Shelley-Rolls since 1917).

The following letters are printed from this volume. The first and third are from the originals, the second is from Percy's own holograph draft, which he had preserved. The draft shows very interesting corrections, which prove that the bishop regarded his utterances on the subject of his famous love song as of some moment.

[Miss Henrietta Rhodes to Bishop Percy]

BRIDGNORTH
January 15th
1801

MY LORD

I am so thoroughly conscious of the numberless apologies this Letter requires, that I should despair of receiving your forgiveness for such an Intrusion, was I not well acquainted with your Character, although I have not the honour of being personally known to you: I am therefore inclined to hope, that my address will rather excite a smile, than provoke your displeasure.

My name will perhaps announce to you that I am a native of Bridgnorth; a place which boasts of your birth, no less from your distinguished literary talents, than the high station you enjoy. Added to the respect we feel for great and good characters, there is naturally a portion of *pride* also experienced when we consider ourselves *provincially interested.* Thus much to elucidate the story I have to relate.

In a large company assembled at Mr Lee's of Coton the other Day, the beautifull Ballad "O Nanny wilt thou go with me" was sung by one of the Party, and the words were so much admired that I could not resist making the observation that they were written by Dr Percy, a native of Bridgnorth. A negative was instantly put upon this, by every one present. Some asserted it to be Scotch, and others said they *knew* it to have been written at a much earlier period than you coud have published. It was in vain I protested that I had received it, *as yours,* from your Nephew, whom I have the pleasure of knowing, and that I had even written an Answer to it. My opponents continued incredulous, & I in proportion became more decided. At length M^r^ Lee, and another Gentleman dared me to a Bett with them. It is the first Wager I ever made in my life, for I am systematically an enemy to them; however I have the *immense* sum of *three Guineas* at stake, determinable only by your Lordship's avowal of being the Author. Whilst I intreat the favour of a reply, suffer me to assure you, that I am not less anxious for the honour of restoring the stolen branch of Bays to the Chaplet the Muses have wove for you, than I am to prove my own claim to correctness: and that I remain your Lordships

obliged humble servan[t]
HENRIETTA RHODES

If M^r^ Percy is in your Neighbourhood pray make my compliments to him and tell him I expect from his friendship whatever further excuses may be wanting to your Lordship

[Addressed]
THE RIGHT REV^d^ BISHOP OF DROMORE
DROMORE HOUSE
Ireland

[Bishop Percy to Miss Rhodes]

DROMORE HOUSE, Feb. 9. 1801

MADAM,

So very obliging a Letter as yours ought to have received an earlier Acknowledgement; but the very great indulgence,[1] you have shown to a poetical Escape of my early youth, will, I trust, be extended to my Delay of writing now,. w^ch^ has been owing to the Interruptions of Business. Graver Studies and more important Persuits have so long since weaned me from the Seductions of the Muses, that I should[2] have scarce taken the trouble you have so kindly done to contest with any opponent my original right to it, but if your very flattering Partiality[3] to it did not tempt me to revive my my Claim to that little Juvenile Production, it would yet be in vain for me to disown it; as[4] when it was first printed in the 6^th^ Volume of Dodsley's Miscel: Poems, 1758, to it were prefixed the initials &c of my Name T.P . . . cy: which in a subsequent Edition (I think in 1782) the Publisher[5] unknown to me printed at length, mentioning that the author was then Dean of Carlisle, &c. Such is the acc^{t}. of[1] this little Publication, which has to plead in its excuse that the *Nancy* who is the subject of it, is my present wife.—whom I then thought & think still to have been one of the most beautiful of her Sex.—Having[2] thus drawn me into these confessions you must in return favour me with a sight of your Answer; to the above song which will also much[3] oblige my Nephew, who is highly gratified by your kind Remembrance of him, he is at present with me, and is so far advanced in Seniority among the Fellows of St. John's College in Oxford that he has taken his Degree of Doctor of Laws. He desires me to present his best Compliments, who have the honour to be,

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[1] Before "you" is a partly erased "which."

[2] "should . . . . right to it." Percy first wrote "should been content to see this juvenile production, you mention, assigned to any other Claimant"; this he altered to "should have scarce taken the trouble to assert my claim to that juvenile production you mention, had I heard it contested"; then to the present text, but with "Claim to it" for "right to it."

[3] "Partiality . . . . would yet." Percy first wrote "Partiality to that little effusion of fancy were not sufficient to make me reassert my claim to it, it would"; this he altered to "Partiality to it did not tempt me to reassert my [*altered to* "revive my"] attention to it, it would"; then to the present text.

[4] "as" first written "for."

[5] "Publisher" first written "Bookseller."

Madam
Your obedient
humble Servant
THO: DROMORE

P S As I presume y^{e} answ^{r}. above solicited is not your only production may I request to be favoured with an acc^{t} of your other writings

Any Packet will come free, which is directed to me under Cover to
Jasper Ercke Esqr
&c &c &c
War Office
Dublin

[Addressed]
MISS RHODES
BRIDGENORTH
SHROPSHIRE

[Miss Rhodes to Bishop Percy]

MY LORD

The late acknowlegements I pay you for the obliging Letter you honoured me with, must at least wear the appearance of extreme neglect: Suffer me therefore to assure you, that I never in my life felt more highly gratified, than by the very flattering attention you bestowed upon me; and that it has occasioned me the utmost degree of mortification, that I had it not in my power to express my gratitude sooner. I went to Portshall the day following that on which I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter, intending to stay a Week only; but Lady Pigot woud not suffer me to leave her untill my Visit had been prolonged beyond a month, and I returned home but yesterday.

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[1] "of . . . . Publication." Percy first wrote "of the Publication of that small poem." In the draft as it stands "poem" is left uncanceled after "Publication."

[2] "Having . . . . favour me." Percy first wrote "Having thus drawn me into this confession of my youthful Follies, (I mean in writing a [*altered to* y°] Sonnet &c) you have also so far revived my taste for such subjects that I must solicit to be favoured."

[3] "much . . . . gratified." Originally written "gratify my Nephew, who is much obliged."

I shoud blush to have given you the trouble of explaining so fully as you have condescendingly done, where the Ballad of "Nanny" is to be met with, had it not given rise to the confession of so charming a domestic anecdote, that even the beautifull language of the Poet, is surpassed by the finer feelings of the Husband!

I feel that I ought not to withhold from your Lordship, the communication of the Verses you request; but as I now find that I have been guilty of a greater degree of presumption than I was aware of, you must receive them as a *humiliation* for the *Vanity* of the attempt. With a memory capable of retaining almost everything I wish, I nevertheless forget whatever I write myself. Neither am I more anxious for their preservation; so that when I sought for the Manuscript Copy of my Verses, I had mislaid it beyond my search, & I was therefore obliged to refer to the Gentlemans Magazine, where they were published in 1785. This examination, recalled to my recollection a circumstance I had totally forgot—that I had been prevailed upon by a friend to write an *Imitation* of your Song, as from an Officer going to America; and that it was *to this*, that I had written an Answer. I know not what excuse to plead for the temerity of my attempt; nor coud I expect forgiveness, from Candour less than yours.

The perusal of these Lines, will convince your Lordship that I profess not

Those enchanting spells that lye
Lurking in sweet Poesy!

and incline you to believe me, when I assure you, that I have never undertaken a performance of any length, except a Novel, of which no one suspects me to be the Author. Let me however add, that I am too proud of the interest you are so good as to express about me, not to feel the wish that I coud prove myself deserving of it.

I rejoice to hear so good an account of D^r^ Percy. Although I was ignorant of his having taken his degree, I have always understood that he had justified the very high expectations his friends had formed of him. I entreat that you will do me the fav[our] to present my best remembrances to him; and believe that I remain, with every possible sentiment of respect,

Your Lordships,
obliged humble servant
HENRIETTA RHODES.

BRIDGNORTH
March 21st 1801.

What Miss Rhodes says of the freakishness of her memory about her own productions is not a mere ladylike trick of humility after the high-bred Georgian fashion. It is plain and simple truth, as I know to my cost. For her two poems are not to be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, to which she refers. They occur (anonymously) two years earlier, in the August number of 1783 (Vol. LIII, Part II, p. 696).[1] The first is entitled "Imitation of the Song, O Nancy, &c. written by the Bishop of Dromore. See p. 605. Addressed to a Lady. By an Officer going to embark for America." It begins:

O Nancy, wilt thou go with me,
  Nor sigh to leave thy sweet retreat?
Can foreign climes have charms for thee,
  Where discord still maintains her seat?
Say, canst thou quit such joys serene,
  The toils of savage war to share;
Nor yet regret the courtly scene,
  Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

The second poem is entitled "Answer." The first stanza runs thus:

Yes, Henry, yes, this faithful heart,
  Can ev'ry arduous trial prove;
From friends and native shores can part,
  Its great security thy love:
For ah! each scene when thou'rt away
  Assumes an aspect dull and drear,
Fled are those hours which shone so gay,
  When thou with happiness wert here.[2]

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[1] Both pieces are included in Miss Rhodes's *Poems and Miscellaneous Essays*, Brentford, 1814, pp. 27–30. Autograph copies of both were inclosed by the authoress in her second letter and are preserved in the Grace MS.

[2] There are several other answers to Percy's poem. One by "Mr. Greenfield" was sent to Miss Rhodes by Percy and there is a manuscript copy in the Grace volume. It begins "O Henry, didst thou know the heart." The author was, I suppose, the Rev. Andrew Greenfield, of Moira, who submitted two acts of a tragedy to Percy in 1788 (see his letters in Nichols, *Illustrations*, VIII, 261–62). The poem has been several times reprinted, usually (if not always) without the author's name: for example, in Park's edition of Ritson's *English Songs*, I (1813), 197–98; in Plumtre's *Collection of Songs*, II (1824), 182–84; by James Wilson, *The Musical Cyclopedia*, 1834, p. 11. Another answer, beginning "Yes, Damon, yes, with thee I'll go," was reprinted from *The European Magazine*, for December, 1816, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for May, 1847, New Series, XXVII, 482, and is also in Plumtre, II, 179–81. A third begins: "Yes, Henry, yes, with thee I'll go" (Plumtre, II, 181–82; *The British Orpheus*, Stourport, n.d., pp. 8–9). A fourth, beginning: "Oh William I will gang with thee" is mentioned in *The Musical Times*, XIX (1878), 503. William Richardson's pretty poem entitled *The Invitation. An Idyllion* ("Fair lady, leave parade and show") may well have been suggested by Percy's song (*Poems, chiefly Rural* [3d ed., 1775], pp. 28–30; cf. Wilson, as above, p. 11).

"See p. 605" in the title of the "Imitation" refers to a previous page of the same volume, where we find: "Bp. Percy's exquisite Ballad, 'O Nancy, wilt thou go with me?' attempted in Latin verse" by *C. L.*, whom I have not identified. It is in elegiacs:

> Anna mihi comites dignaberis addere gressus;
> Urbis adoratæ linquere delicias?

The Latinizer has appended one new stanza, by which, he says, "I hope the harmony and simplicity of the pathetic original has not been violated."

Percy's reply (not preserved) to Miss Rhodes's second letter must have included some inquiries as to her poetry and her novel. In a letter of May 10, 1810, contained in the Grace MS, she informs him that the novel is entitled *Augusta Denbeigh* and that "Lane gave twenty guineas immediately for it; which I thought an immense sum for a Book brought out in obscurity, and without a name." She also sends her thanks to Percy's nephew "for his goodness in Copying M^r. Greenfields Reply to your beautifull Ballad," and she incloses at least one more poem of her own, "a Reply to a very fashionable Song of Captain Morris's who in his partiality for a *Town* Life, is very wittily severe upon the *Country*."[1]

Everybody knows that Percy's song was addressed to Anna Gutteridge (Goodriche), whom he married on April 24, 1759, and who died at Dromore House on December 30, 1806, aged seventy-four. But there are two or three questions about the song that need clearing up.

In the autumn of 1757, Percy, then Vicar of Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire, sent "O Nancy, wilt thou go with me?" to Shenstone, with a request that he would revise it before communicating it to Dodsley the publisher.[2] Shenstone's corrections, which must have been trifling, met with a polite acknowledgment in Percy's letter of November 24.[3] The poem appeared in print for the first time in 1758 in Dodsley's *Collection* as "A Song. By T. P***cy,"[4] and was reprinted in subsequent editions with the same ascription until 1782, when Dodsley gave the author's surname in full with an explanatory footnote: "Thomas Percy, D.D. now Dean of Carlisle."[1]

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[1] This poem is not in the Grace MS. It may be found in Miss Rhodes's volume of *Poems and Miscellaneous Essays*, 1814, pp. 35–38: "Parody on Captain Morris's Song, 'London and the Country.'" The same volume contains the song ("In London I know not what to be at"), pp. 50–52.

[2] Shenstone to Percy, January 4, 1758 (Hecht, *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone, Quellen und Forschungen*, CIII, 6).

[3] Hecht, p. 4.

[4] *A Collection of Poems*, VI, 233–34.

Before 1774, it seems,[2] the song was twice set to music, once by Thomas Carter and once by Joseph Baildon, and was sung at Vauxhall (in Carter's setting) by Vernon, and at Ranelagh (in Baildon's) by Beard. In Carter's text (as usually printed), the first line appears in a Scottish guise ("O Nanny wilt thou gang with me?") and in Baildon's the Scotticisms are carried through the piece and "Betsy" is substituted for "Nancy." Then, in 1787, James Johnson in *The Scots Musical Museum*[3] published the Scottish text as by "Dr. Piercy," with Baildon's music but without naming the composer.

Burns, who regarded "O Nancy" as "perhaps the most beautiful ballad in the English language,"[4] was indignant at what he regarded as Johnson's (or some other canny Scot's) act of piracy. "It is too barefaced," he wrote, "to take Dr. Percy's charming song, and by the means of transposing a few English words into Scots, to offer to pass it for a Scots song."[5] Who did the Scotticizing has always been a puzzle. Some have thought that it was Percy himself. Grainger mentions "your Scotch song" (but describes it no further) in a letter to Percy dated February, 1758, and asks if he may give it to the editors of a new magazine (also unnamed by him), who are eager for good poetry.[1] Nichols thought this "Scotch song" was "O Nanny," but he had no proof,[2] and Mitford, who repeated the conjecture, did not improve his argument, in the long run, by inadvertently copying two of Nichols's footnotes into the text of Grainger's letter, so as to make him give the name of the periodical (*The Grand Magazine*) and designate the poem by its first line—"your Scotch song—'O Nannie, wilt thou gang wi' me?'"[3] This is a very pretty case of a couple of glosses that "crept into the text." On the whole, the prevalent opinion, despite Grainger's cryptic utterance about "your Scotch song," seems to be that only the English text is Percy's. And that would appear to be reasonable, for why should a young English clergyman address his young English Anna in the Scottish dialect?

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[1] *Collection*, VI (1782), 250–51.

[2] Dates are uncertain here. Baildon died in 1774. His tune is contained in a collection of his songs entitled *The Laurel* (*ca.* 1773), which I have not seen, but the first four lines are given in *The Musical Times*, XIX (September 1, 1878), 503; the title runs: "A Song in the Scotch Manner, sung by Mr. Beard." In *The Bull-Finch*, p. 211, I find (without the tune): "The Fairest of the Fair. Sung at Ranelagh. Set by Mr. Joseph Baildon." This is the edition of *The Bull-Finch* containing 490 songs and dated 1780 in the Stainer *Catalogue*, p. 16. Whether the piece occurs in earlier editions, I do not know. Carter's tune is dated 1773 by Stenhouse (*Illustrations*, I [1839], 30), but he is very untrustworthy in such details. Dr. Grattan Flood says that Carter set the song "at the close of the year 1769 . . . . and settled in London in 1772" (Grove's *Dictionary of Music* [ed., Fuller Maitland], I, 475). In 1783, Ritson included Carter's tune in his *English Songs*, III, sig. G4.

[3] No. 32, I, 33.

[4] Burns to George Thomson. October 26, 1792 (*Works*, Edinburgh, 1879, VI, 220; *Life and Works* [ed., Chambers and Wallace], III, 355). Burns was not alone in this opinion. Dr. Aikin, in 1772, remarked that O Nancy "has scarcely its equal for real tenderness in this or any other language" (*Essays on Song-Writing* [2d ed., 1774], p. 110); and in 1780 J. W[arton?] wrote: "This has been esteemed, not undeservedly, the most beautiful song in the English language. It is tender, easy, and elegant" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, L [August, 1780], 372).

[5] Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns* (4th ed., 1817), p. 209; *Life and Works* (ed., Chambers and Wallace), IV, 377.

However, in this instance, the apparently improbable is true. Nichols was right and so was Mitford, despite his textual aberrations. Percy wrote the song originally in an attempted Scottish dialect, and not in the English form in which he published it in 1758, and here it is from a copy in his own hand, authenticated by his signature, preserved among the Percy Papers in the Harvard College Library.

The Song,
In Dodsley's Miscellanies Vol. 6. p. 233.
As it was first written
In Imitation of the Scotch Manner

O Annie! wilt thou gang wi' me,
  Nor sigh to leave the flaunting town?
Can silent glens hae charms for thee,
  The lowly Cot, and russet gown?
Nae langer dress'd in silken sheene,
  Nae langer deck'd wi' Jewels rare,
Say can'st thou quit each courtly scene,
  Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

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[1] Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII, 247.

[2] Nichols, VII, 228, 247, note.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, XXVII (March, 1847), 376–77 (cf. p. 604). J. M., who signs this communication, was certainly the well-known editor of Gray; he writes from "B—— ll," i.e., Benhall, Suffolk, where Mitford was vicar from 1810 until his death in 1859. See also Willmott, in his edition of Percy's *Reliques*, 1857, pp. xxx–xxxvi; G. A. C[rawford], *The Musical Times*, XIX (September 1, 1878), 502–3.

O Annie! when thou'rt far awa',
  Wilt thou not cast a wish behind?
Say can'st thou face the flaky snaw,
  Nor shrink before the wintry wind?
O can that saft and gentle mien
  Extremes of hardship learn to bear,
Nor sad regret each courtly scene
  Where thou wert fairest of the fair.

O Annie! can'st thou love sae true
  Thro' perils keen wi' me to gae?
Or when thy swain Mishap shall rue,
  To share with him the Pang of wae?
Say should disease or pain befall,
  Wilt thou assume the Nurse's Care,
Nor wistful those gay Scenes recall,
  Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

And when at last thy Love shall die,
  Wilt thou receive his parting breath?
Wilt thou repress each strugling Sigh?
  And chear wi' smiles the bed of death?
And wilt thou o'er his breathless Clay,
  Strew flowr's & drop the tender tear?
Nor *then* regret those scenes sae gay,
  Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

T PERCY.[1]

Percy's "originality"—a parlous word—has been much debated in the matter of his famous song, and the discussion illustrates, in a curious and entertaining fashion, the loose way in which literary history is often written. Stenhouse about 1820 suggested[2] that Percy "might have had in view" the anonymous Scottish song in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* entitled "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy," the second stanza of which begins:

O Katy, wiltu gang wi' me,
  And leave the dinsome town a while;
The blossom's sprouting frae the tree,
  And a' the summer's gawn to smile.[3]

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[1] The signature shows the entwined *T* and *P*, as in that reproduced by Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, III (1817), 340. The heading ("The Song," etc.), as well as the text, is in Percy's hand.

[2] *Illustrations*, in Johnson's *Museum* (ed. 1839), I, notes; (ed. 1853), IV, 29–30.

[3] *Tea-Table Miscellany* (9th ed., 1733), I, 66. The song is Ramsay's own: see his *Poems*, II (1800), 226–27.

And he adds complacently that "the Bishop's verses . . . . form one of the most successful imitations of the Scottish pastoral ballad which has ever yet appeared on the south side of the Tweed."[1] There is, to be sure, identity of meter, but there is nothing Scottish about the meter, and the spirit of the two songs is utterly different as well as their details. It would be quite as much to the point to suggest that the unknown Scot took a hint from "Come live with me and be my love."

However, Dr. Furnivall, in 1867, on the suggestion of Rimbault, went Stenhouse several better. He says:

> Knowing Percy's habits, one is not surprised to find that this ballad, for which he has been so much praised, is little more than a paraphrase of another poem. Of "Oh Nanny," Dr. Rimbault writes: "With regard to its *originality* we will say nothing, because the following elegant little poem, from a MS. dated 1682, evidently furnished the idea. The same words,[2] with some trifling variations, are found in Nat. Lee's tragedy 'Theodosius, or the Force of Love,' edit. 1697."[3]

The poem in question is appended under the title of "The Royal Nun": it begins, "Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?" Now the comparison with Lee's "Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?" was made (before Rimbault) by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who suggested, with due restraint, that "perhaps both the author of 'The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy' and Bishop Percy took the idea of their ballads from a song in Lee's beautiful tragedy of Theodosius."[4] There is just similarity enough to warrant Sharpe's cautious observation, and I am glad to quote him, if for no other reason, because he pays a merited tribute to poor Lee's undervalued tragedy; but the phrase "little more than a paraphrase" goes far beyond the facts.

In the second place, Rimbault forgets to mention that the date of his manuscript (1682) is two years later than the date of Lee's tragedy. He gives us the impression that the song was borrowed or stolen by Lee, and fortifies this impression by referring to "edit. 1697." Mr. Wheatley, in 1876, stepped into the trap with both feet. "Dr. Rimbault," he says, "communicated this poem ["The Royal Nun"] to the editors of the folio MS. from a MS. dated 1682, or fifteen years earlier than Lee's version."[1] Now Lee died in 1692, and *Theodosius* was both acted and printed in 1680. Comparison between Rimbault's manuscript of 1682 and Lee's text of 1680 shows at a glance that the manuscript gives merely a modified and attenuated extract from the florid operatic scene in which Marina and Flavilla are received as votaresses.[2] The thing is not a song in eight-line stanzas, but a series of songs in four-line stanzas. Atticus, the chief priest, sings one stanza (the first half of Rimbault's stanza 1); the second and third priests follow, each with one stanza; then Atticus sings a stanza, then the chorus; Marina and Flavilla reply, each in three stanzas, and Atticus closes with four couplets.[3]

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[1] Rimbault repeats Stenhouse's suggestion (*Folio Manuscript*, I, xli, n. 1).

[2] I.e., the same words as those of "the following elegant little poem."

[3] *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, xli, n. 1.

[4] *Additional Illustrations* in the 1839 edition of Johnson's *Musical Museum*, I, notes, p. 112* (ed. 1853, IV, 112*).

Dr. Rimbault's note, as printed by Furnivall in 1867, coincides strictly in part with an item in *Fly Leaves* (1853), even to the use of the editorial "we" and the italicizing of the word "originality."[4] I believe Rimbault was the editor of *Fly Leaves* and have no doubt that this item was from his pen. Both the item and the note contain "The Royal Nun" "from a MS. dated 1682." The item differs from the note in omitting all reference to Lee and in containing the remark that "The Royal Nun" is "attributed to Sir William Davenant."[5]

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[1] Percy's *Reliques*, I (1876), lxxiv. It is only fair to add that Wheatley decisively vindicates the bishop: "Even could it be proved that Percy had borrowed the opening idea from these two poems ["The Royal Nun" and "The Young Laird"], it does not derogate from his originality."

[2] Act I, scene i (quarto of 1680), pp. 9–10.

[3] The manuscript of 1682 must be that described by Rimbault in *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, 1851, p. 163 (cf. pp. 166, 183, 187) as "a MS. volume of old Songs, collected and noted by the celebrated 'small-coal' man, Thomas Britton. On the fly-leaf is his autograph, and the date, 1682. It was purchased, with several others of the same kind, and of the same collection, at the sale of John Sidney Hawkins' books." Hawkins died in 1842 and his library was sold in 1843. On the sale of Britton's library in 1715, see Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, 1811, pp. 440–41.

[4] I, 18–21. The two series of *Fly Leaves*, published by John Miller, the London bookseller, are reprinted from *Miller's London Librarian and Book-Buyer's Gazette*, a monthly list of second-hand books. The first series was published in 1853, but the title-page of the copy I have used bears the date 1855. See *Notes and Queries*, First Series, VIII, 656; XI, 40.

[5] The item also quotes the erroneous account of the occasion of Percy's writing his song given by Miss Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions*, I (1824), 271, note. It also mentions Mrs. Percy's portrait at Ecton House, and it contains an account of Thomas Carter. Rimbault's note adds a reference to "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy."

It does not appear, however, that this attribution is in the manuscript. Doubtless, it was between 1853 and 1867 that Rimbault discovered that the song is in *Theodosius*. Anyhow, by 1867, he had come to distrust the attribution to Davenant, whatever that may have been based on.

But we have not yet finished our chapter of accidents. Dr. Furnivall, who was not wont to make such mistakes, wrote to *Notes and Queries*, in 1868, to the following effect: "Mr. W. Chappell tells me that the ballad 'Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?'—which Dr. Rimbault shows . . . . was the original of Percy's 'Oh, Nanny wilt thou go with me?'—is in Sir W. Davenant's play of *The Rivals*, acted in 1664, and printed in 1668."[1] This is simply not the case. There is no such song, nor anything in the remotest degree resembling it, in Davenant's *Rivals*.[2] How Chappell, the most learned of antiquaries in these matters, came to blunder so egregiously, is hard to understand. One thinks that he must really have seen the verses in some copy of the play; but if so, they must have been a late insertion in an *acting* version. In Davenant's comedy, the distracted Celania sings a number of songs and snatches of song, and stanzas from the lyric service in *Theodosius* may have been utilized by some actress to enrich the part. At all events, nothing is clearer than that no such verses were written or inserted by Davenant, who died in 1668. They are Nat Lee's property, and his alone.

An unknown critic declared, about a century ago, that "the subject of the song is taken" from an Elegy of Tibullus,[3] obviously meaning the First. There is indeed some quite legitimate resemblance, particularly between the last stanza ("And when at last thy love shall die," etc.) and that part of the address to Delia that begins: "Te spectem suprema mihi cum venerit hora."[4] The comparison, at all events, has a certain interest, since the version of this elegy which Grainger printed in his Tibullus (1759)[1] was made by Percy in or about 1756, and since Grainger's book was the subject of incessant correspondence between Grainger and Percy from 1756 to 1759.[2] It was in 1758, we remember, that Grainger expressed a wish to print Percy's "Scotch Song" in *The Grand Magazine.*[3]

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, I, 555.

[2] See the quarto of 1668, the first edition, which was "licensed September 19, 1668."

[3] *The European Magazine*, December, 1816, as quoted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, XXVII (1847), 482. Cf. Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing* (2d. ed., 1774), p. 110.

[4] i, 1, 59–68 (73–82 Grainger).

There is a tiresome literary tradition, commonly assumed to go back to some kind of contemporary evidence, that Percy's Nancy was a plain-featured woman. So far as I can make out, it was started by an innocent passage in Fanny Burney's diary. In 1791, she met Mrs. Percy, then a matron of sixty years, and she thus describes her: "She is very uncultivated and ordinary in manners and conversation, but a good creature, and much delighted to talk over the Royal Family, to one of whom she was formerly a nurse."[4] Willmott, in 1857, quoted this passage correctly, but prefixed a somewhat ambiguous comment: "If Madame D'Arblay's account be correct, 'the fairest of the fair' borrowed her graces from the poet's pen."[5] This became, in Gilfillan's edition of the *Reliques* in 1858:[6] "She is described as a 'good creature,' but ordinary both in appearance and manners, and indebted for her charms to her husband's imagination." In 1867, Pickford continued the game of gossip. "She . . . . is described as a good wife, but indebted for her charms to her husband's poetical fancy, which has styled her 'fairest of the fair.'"[7] And finally, in 1908, Miss Gaussen felt bound to echo her predecessors: "It may have been only to the eye of the poet that 'Nancy' appeared as 'fairest of the fair,' and her charms possibly had no more material existence than 'the stuff that dreams are made of.'"[8]

We should observe that Miss Burney says nothing of the lady's good looks one way or the other, and that, even if she did, beauty sometimes fades between the ages of twenty-five and sixty. Mrs. Percy's obituary, in *The Gentleman's Magazine,* calls her "the truly worthy, amiable, and very accomplished wife" of the Bishop of Dromore,[1] and to the same number, a poet who signs himself "Hafiz" contributed an *Epitaph* which celebrates her beauty:

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[1] *A Poetical Translation of the Elegies of Tibullus*, I, 3 ff. See Grainger's acknowledgment, I, xiii.

[2] See the letters in Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII, 242 ff.; Percy to Shenstone, January 9, 1759 (Hecht, pp. 9–10).

[3] Pp. 211–12 above.

[4] *Diary and letters* (ed., Dobson, 1905), V. 31.

[5] Willmott's edition of the *Reliques*, p. xvii.

[6] Edinburgh (James Nichol), I, v.

[7] *Life* in Hales and Furnivall's edition of the *Folio Manuscript*, I, xxxii.

[8] *Percy: Prelate and Poet*, p. 19.

> Whose moral excellence, and virtues rare,
> Shone as conspicuous as her face was fair.[2]

A more decisive witness is Miss Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins. Speaking of Percy's "charming wife," she avers that "the best whole length of the so often painted wife of Rubens will always keep in remembrance what Mrs. Percy was, particularly that in the engravings from the Luxembourg Gallery, where 'Lady Rubens' appears under the character of Mary de Medicis kneeling to receive the crown."[3] Whether Miss Hawkins was right or wrong in believing that Rubens painted his wife as the queen in this coronation picture[4] is a matter that does not affect the value of her testimony. She was the daughter and private secretary of Johnson's friend, Sir John Hawkins, who was a member of the famous club to which both Johnson and Percy belonged, and she was a person of sufficient maturity to have her father's *Life of Johnson* wrongly credited to her own pen.[5] The best evidence of all, however, is the lady's portrait,[6] which is that of a distinctly handsome woman.

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[1] LXXVII, Part I, p. 91 (January, 1807).

[2] P. 60.

[3] *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions,* I (1824), 271, note.

[4] See Grossmann, *Der Gemäldezyclus der Galerie der Maria von Medici,* p. 15, n. 3; Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens,* III, 360.

[5] *Memoirs,* etc., I, 160.

[6] Reproduced in Gaussen, p. 22.

THE TEXT OF BURNS

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In the case of most of the best of Burns's poetical work (except songs contributed to Johnson's and Thomson's collections), the determination of a sound critical text is not, or should not be, difficult. For all the pieces included in the several editions of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect,* issued during Burns's life, the text of these editions should be followed. They vary considerably in value, however, to one who would decide just how Burns wished his poems to read.

Probably the Kilmarnock edition of 1786 received more careful attention from the poet than any later printing; but, whatever his own original predilections may have been, he definitely abandoned in all subsequent editions certain grammatical forms that are prominent in this his first one—notably participles in *an* (which he changed to *in* or *ing*) and past tenses and past participles in *et* (changed to *it*). Consequently, the Kilmarnock edition is on the whole less valuable than the later ones in determining precise forms in the text.

Of the first Edinburgh edition of 1787, to which there were added twenty-two pieces not printed at Kilmarnock, there are, as is well known, two forms called, from the variation of a word in the last stanza of the poem "To a Haggis," the "Skinking" and the "Stinking" editions, respectively. Whatever conclusions one accepts as to the way in which these considerably different printings came to be,[1] the "Skinking" edition is on the whole the better—just as "skinking" (watery) is the correct reading of the word in question. Undoubtedly, Burns, being in Edinburgh at the time of publication and having no serious occupation but the seeing of his book through the press, gave more personal attention to the first Edinburgh edition than to the later ones published at the Scottish capital.

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[1] The case is stated and references are given in Henley and Henderson's Centenary edition, *The Poetry of Robert Burns,* I, 313, 314.

When a new printing was called for, Burns sent his publisher a corrected copy of the "Skinking" edition of 1787, to which he added twenty pieces not previously in the collection. This new edition, announced on the title-page as "the second edition[1] considerably enlarged," appeared in two small volumes in 1793. To these volumes Burns gave little attention; "the only sheets which he revised—if he revised even these—were filled with pieces published for the first time."[2] Thus the 1793 edition is the least correct in details of those now under consideration.

The last printing during Burns's life was in 1794[3]—an exact reprint of the volumes of the previous year except that it is called "new edition" instead of "second edition" and it contains a great many variations in details which are partly the correction of errors and partly deliberate changes due to either Burns or his advisers. So far as errors are concerned, then, the 1794 edition is better than that of 1793; whether Henley and Henderson are right in their contention that "certain new readings," introduced "on the advice of Tytler and others,"[4] are not improvements,[5] may be a question of taste. At any rate, if Burns accepted and approved them, do they not represent his maturest judgment in the matter?

However this may be, one must accept the general principle, as Henley and Henderson say they did,[6] that the text of all pieces included in the several editions issued under varying degrees of supervision by the poet himself in 1786, 1787, 1793, and 1794, must be the result of careful collation of these editions, with rather more deference to those of 1787 (the "Skinking" edition) and 1794 than the others. For the poems in the author's editions, manuscript readings are of secondary importance, for the obvious reason that a printed text approved by the poet is more likely to be correct, and represents ordinarily the result of maturer consideration than some manuscript, perhaps copied hastily for a friend, or even the manuscript prepared for the printer. However, if a manuscript reading indicates that an error has persisted in the printing, or that the poet had it in mind to make a change in his printed text,[1] it may be valuable. In general, then, the text of all Burns's work which he chose to publish, except the songs he contributed to Johnson's and Thomson's collections of songs, is to be determined from the editions mentioned above.[2]

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[1] The Edinburgh editions always ignored the fact that an edition at Kilmarnock had preceded them.

[2] The Centenary Burns, I, 316.

[3] Only the authorized Scottish editions are taken into account here; reprints during Burns's life at London, Belfast, New York, etc., are not considered.

[4] The Centenary Burns, I, 316, 317.

[5] An example of these changes occurs in lines 43 and 44 of "The Twa Dogs," which in all editions before that of 1794 contain a word in vulgar use only—a word not printed but suggested by the rhyme. While it is easy to understand how the early reading naturally pleased the robust, free-spoken Henley, as being more racily characteristic of the poet before his prudent friends attempted to polish him; nevertheless the substituted lines are not weak, but wholly appropriate and adequate, and have what may be an advantage even in Burns—the possibility of being read in any company.

[6] The Centenary Burns, I, 317.

This conclusion means, surely, in the case of a writer no more ancient than Burns, that not only the diction but the spelling and punctuation of his text should be followed in a truly critical edition. The only alternative to such a course is frank modernizing and normalizing in all details, and that seems obviously objectionable from every point of view. Take the punctuation: a century and a quarter ago the signification of the various marks did not differ materially from their signification at present. Somewhat more punctuation was used than is now customary; but the modern reader can have no difficulty whatever, on the score of punctuation, in reading the early editions of Burns. Besides, there are so many variations in the customs of punctuation even today, among equally competent authorities, that it seems the height of presumption to say, or imply, that the works of a classic like Burns shall be repunctuated according to the judgment of any particular editor or the system adopted by any particular publishing house.[3]

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[1] An example of this kind occurs in the song "My Nanie, O." The name of the river in the first line is "Stinchar" in the first Edinburgh edition and in the volumes of 1793 and 1794; but in sending the song to Thomson in 1792 Burns commented on the "prosaic" character of the name, mentioned several acceptable substitutes, and indicated his own preference for "Lugar" as "the most agreeable modulation of syllables" (Centenary ed., I, 414). Accordingly, it seems proper for editors to adopt "Lugar" as the reading.

[2] The posthumous poems, of which the most important are "The Jolly Beggars" and the "Holy Willie" poems, and the songs present different and in some cases more complicated problems, and are not now under consideration.

[3] An examination of manuscripts in Burns's hand (or facsimile reprints of them, which are mainly what I have seen) shows that he observed sound and intelligent principles of punctuation and was, in general, very particular in the matter. The early editions, too, are well punctuated and are remarkably uniform in punctuation.

Nevertheless, with scarcely a word on the point in the four handsome volumes of the Centenary Burns,[1] Henley and Henderson did presume to repunctuate Burns, to such an extent that their text presents many variants per page from the text of any and all Scottish editions issued during Burns's life. They also (this they acknowledge) made "an endeavor . . . . in so far as seemed expedient, to harmonise the spelling."[2] In illustration of their liberties with the punctuation observe the following:

A Bard's Epitaph

[As in early editions]	[As in the Centenary edition]
Is there a whim-inspired fool,	Is there a whim-inspirèd fool,
Owre fast for thought, owre hot for rule,	Owre fast for thought, owre hot for rule,
Owre blate to seek, owre proud to snool,	Owre blate to seek, owre proud to snool ?—
Let him draw near;	Let him draw near;
And owre this grassy heap sing dool,	And owre this grassy heap sing dool,
And drap a tear.	And drap a tear.
Is there a Bard of rustic song,	Is there a Bard of rustic song,
Who, noteless, steals the crowds among,	Who, noteless, steals the crowds among,
That weekly this area throng,	That weekly this aréa throng ?—
O, pass not by!	O, pass not by!
But, with a frater-feeling strong,	But with a frater-feeling strong,
Here, heave a sigh.	Here, heave a sigh.
Is there a man, whose judgment clear,	Is there a man, whose judgment clear
Can others teach the course to steer,	Can others teach the course to steer,
Yet runs, himself, life's mad career,	Yet runs, himself, life's mad career
Wild as the wave,	Wild as the wave ?—
Here pause—and, thro' the starting tear,	Here pause—and, thro' the starting tear,
Survey this grave.	Survey this grave.
The poor Inhabitant below	The poor inhabitant below
Was quick to learn and wise to know,	Was quick to learn and wise to know,
And keenly felt the friendly glow,	And keenly felt the friendly glow
And softer flame;	And softer flame;
But thoughtless follies laid him low,	But thoughtless follies laid him low,
And stain'd his name!	And stain'd his name.

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[1] In I, 357, 358, there is mention of the deletion of a comma—a most surprising note in view of dozens of unnoted similar deletions and other changes in punctuation.

[2] The Centenary Burns, I, 317.

Reader, attend—whether thy soul	Reader, attend! whether thy soul
Soars fancy's flights beyond the pole,	Soars Fancy's flights beyond the pole,
Or darkling grubs this earthly hole,	Or darkling grubs this earthly hole
In low pursuit;	In low pursuit;
Know, prudent, cautious, self-controul	Know, prudent, cautious, self-control
Is Wisdom's root.	Is wisdom's root.

In a few minor matters, as of variation between semicolon and colon or between comma and semicolon, there are slight differences among the early editions in the foregoing poem; but there is no difference at the points where the Centenary editors make their chief changes in the first three stanzas. These changes are not merely in punctuation; they are changes of construction. The first three lines of the first stanza as Burns wrote it, the first three lines of the second stanza, and the first four lines of the third stanza are conditional clauses, of which in each case the remainder of the stanza is the conclusion. The original punctuation makes this perfectly clear, and the change of each conditional clause to a direct question seems needless and indefensible. Yet it is made without a word of comment or explanation: the only textual notes on "A Bard's Epitaph"[1] are to the effect that "inspired" appears as "inspir'd" in the editions of 1786 and 1787; that "some editors substitute 'arena' for 'area'"; and that "thro'" was changed to "through" in 1793 and 1794. These notes are typical: variations in diction are usually recorded punctiliously—often variations in spelling (though not always); but even sweeping changes in punctuation pass unremarked.

A like liberty is taken in the fourth stanza of the "Postscript" to "The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer." Here, as in "A Bard's Epitaph," the first part of the stanza, four lines in this case, is in the early editions punctuated as a conditional clause, thus:

But bring a Scotchman frae his hill,
Clap in his cheek a Highland gill,
Say, such is royal George's will,
An' there's the foe,
He has nae thought but how to kill
Twa at a blow.

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[1] The Centenary Burns, I, 391.

Henley and Henderson put an exclamation point at the end of the fourth line, thus radically changing the intended sentence structure. And only two stanzas farther on, in the same poem, they change a perfectly satisfactory comma to a colon in:

But tell me Whisky's name in Greek,
I'll tell the reason.

Here again the sense is: "If you will tell me," etc., and the colon misrepresents the relationship.

In stanza 7 of the "Address to the Deil," Burns's manuscript for the printer, of which Henley and Henderson print a facsimile,[1] and all the early editions make the principal pause after the fourth line, putting a semicolon there. But Henley and Henderson disregard the relation obviously intended, and put a colon after the third line, thus reading "ayont the lough" with what follows it instead of what precedes it. Since the passage makes perfectly good sense as printed in the early editions, why the change?

In stanza 28 of the "Epistle to James Smith," the author's editions set off "ye ken the road" with dashes only, both before and after, plainly indicating that the thought and the construction carry over to the next stanza, as is obviously desirable. But Henley and Henderson break the construction by putting an exclamation point, and no dash, at the end of stanza 28.

In stanza 10 of "The Cotter's Saturday Night," the early editions read:

Curse on his perjur'd arts! Dissembling smooth!

Henley and Henderson insert a misleading comma between the last two words, apparently not recognizing "dissembling" as a noun modified by a following adjective—clearly a better reading than the other.

The ninth stanza of "John Barleycorn" reads in the early editions:

They filled up a darksome pit
With water to the brim,
They heaved in John Barleycorn,
There let him sink or swim.

Henley and Henderson change the relations decidedly by putting a dash at the end of the third line and making the fourth read:

There, let him sink or swim!

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[1] *The Centenary Burns*, I, between pp. 334 and 335.

Examples could be multiplied. Besides changes of as striking a nature as those thus far given, there are an infinite number of small variations between the Centenary Burns and the early editions, which lead irresistibly to the conclusion that these editors felt free to punctuate as they pleased without comment. The point may be illustrated by a rapid list of changes made by them in "The Twa Dogs," as follows:

Line 8. H. H. print 'his Honor's'—no quotation marks in early editions.

Line 10. H. H. change comma at end of line to semicolon.

Line 18. H. H. change colon at end of line to semicolon.

Line 31. H. H. omit a (needless) comma at end of line.

Line 46. H. H. quote 'lords o' the creation'; italic in old editions.

Line 56. H. H. delete comma after "bonie" and insert one at end of line.

Line 64. H. H. change period at end of line to colon.

Line 68. H. H. change colon at end of line to semicolon.

Line 89. H. H. omit (perhaps accidentally) a needed comma after "Lord."

Line 94. This line, parenthetical in sense, is perfectly clear as inclosed in commas in the early editions; H. H. keep the commas and insert parentheses also.

Line 103. H. H. change a semicolon at the end of the line to a colon. The "colon habit," indeed, is strong in these editors: they change a semicolon to a colon also in lines 116, 149, 180, 208; a comma to a colon in lines 151 and 185; a period to a colon in line 206—all these in "The Twa Dogs"; and many more examples could be collected from other poems.

Line 139. H. H. omit a needed comma at the end of the line.

Lines 147, 148. H. H. print apostrophes at the end of "parliamentin" and "indentin," though such apostrophes do not occur in the early editions or in the nine previous examples of "in" forms in H. H.'s own text of this poem.

Line 164. H. H. omit (perhaps accidentally) a much needed colon at end of line.

Line 174. H. H. change an exclamation point to an interrogation point, though in a parallel sentence ending with line 172 they do not make a similar change.

Line 190. H. H. insert a (desirable) comma after "gentles," but (needlessly) change a period at the end of the line to an exclamation point.

Line 204. H. H. change a colon at end of line to a semicolon, though on the old and logically sound principle that adversative parts which are themselves broken by semicolons may be separated by a colon the latter is the better punctuation.

Lines 207, 209, 210. H. H. omit commas after "lank," "dull," and "lang," which occur either in all or in some of the early editions, and which are desirable according to the best principles governing words in a series.

Line 225. H. H. omit comma at end of line.

Line 236. H. H. insert comma before "but."

I would not contend that Henley and Henderson's changes are not sometimes improvements; many of them, here and in other poems, doubtless result in punctuation more nearly according to our present standards—variable though those standards are—and in a few cases mentioned above the author's editions are not all in harmony. My point is that, when the old editions do not vary in punctuation, their punctuation should be followed if intelligible; and that in the few cases when changes may be needed to aid the sense—or the reader's ready grasping of the sense—these changes should be noted just as changes in diction or in spelling are noted by punctilious editors. Editions previous to the Centenary, though they say nothing on this matter, appear to have followed the correct principle; only the editors whose work was in most other respects the best and most thorough took it upon themselves to punctuate as they pleased.

Nor were their only liberties in punctuation; their intention "to harmonise the spelling" has already been mentioned. Perhaps Burns *should* have adopted a consistent system of spelling words which he ends sometimes in "y," sometimes in "ie"; but the fact remains that he did not, as is shown both by the practice in the early editions and by the entry in Burns's glossary of such alternative spellings as "bonie, or bony," "mony, or monie," "ony, or onie." This being the case, why should an editor presume to fix a uniformity that the language as the poet knew it did not accept? In the text of "The Twa Dogs," for example, the early editions print "mony" in lines 43, 94, 172, which in each case Henley and Henderson have changed to "monie." "Ony" is similarly treated in line 67 of the same poem. A very large number of similar cases could be cited from other poems.

Even in textual readings, in which their work is generally excellent, these editors do a number of questionable things. For example, they insert between stanzas 14 and 15 of "The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer," as originally printed, another stanza, which was not included in any of the early editions and which, according to their own notes, "was omitted by Burns from his press copy, and in MS (A) is marked to be 'expunged.'"[1] Obviously, then, the only place where this stanza should appear is in the notes; it is no part of the poem Burns published. Again, in "A Dedication to Gavin Hamilton," Henley and Henderson retain a line (No. 49 of their text) which they themselves say Burns "omitted in 1787 (1), 1787 (2), 1793 and 1794."[2] This line, which we must assume Burns omitted intentionally and never intended to have inserted again, makes a triplet of what is otherwise a couplet.

It is a puzzle why the editors should have followed such a course in the foregoing cases when they properly enough omitted in their text of "Tam o' Shanter," but mentioned in their notes, four racy lines following line 142 which "occur in all the MSS and in Grose and the periodicals," but which "on Tytler's advice . . . . were omitted from the Author's Editions."[3]

Other examples might be cited; but surely enough have been given to demonstrate that the Henley and Henderson text of the poems printed by Burns in his collected editions is not at all a reliable critical text. As to the posthumous poems and the songs sent to Johnson and Thomson, the proper text depends largely on manuscript authority, and I have not had the means of making an exhaustive test. Such tests as I have made, however, indicate that these editors considered themselves entitled to the same liberties in dealing with the posthumous poems and the songs that they took in relation to the poems in the author's editions. Possibly there is more excuse for punctuating as they pleased in matter from manuscripts than in matter printed under the author's supervision, for manuscripts are sometimes careless in details of punctuation; yet I would contend that even here the best manuscript punctuation should be followed, and material variations noted.

It is greatly to be regretted that Henley and Henderson took such liberties as I have been pointing out, because their edition has been generally accepted as immeasurably the best thus far made—and it should have been the best. They had access to more material than any of their predecessors and seem to have gone through it, in the main, with the most painstaking zeal and industry.[1] Their edition was received with a chorus of praise, of which the following bits are typical: "Henceforth there will be no excuse for a faulty text. Messrs. Henley and Henderson have treated Burns as the famous editors of Germany have treated the classics."[2] "Their text will stand till . . . . the day when all the Burns manuscripts are collected in one room, and submitted to the judgment of an ideal jury of experts."[3] In all the reviews I have found,[4] I have seen no criticism of the Centenary text. Nevertheless, the only possible conclusion from this investigation is that a sound critical edition of Burns is still to be made. Such an edition cannot avoid immense debt to the labors of Henley and Henderson, but it will return with much more faithfulness in details to the Scottish editions printed during Burns's life. In this respect, the best of the predecessors of the Centenary editors—Scott Douglas, Aitken, Alexander Smith—are more trustworthy than Henley and Henderson; but the editions of Douglas, Aitken, Smith, and all others involved less adequate examination of all material now available. A sound critical text of Burns must avoid the undue liberties of the Centenary editors while at the same time it avails itself of their diligent researches.

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[1] The Centenary Burns, I, 326. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 379. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

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[1] See *ibid.*, pp. 317, 318, for a general statement; the editors' bibliographical notes, *passim*, for specific details.

[2] Charles Whibley in *Macmillan's Magazine*, LXXVII, 180.

[3] James Davidson in *Scottish Review*, XXIX, 295.

[4] The following is a partial list, including all the most important articles: *Englische Studien* (the article by Hoops), XXVI, 276; *Anglia Beiblatt*, IX, 334; *Academy*, LI, 273; LII, 240, 254; *Athenaeum*, 1896, II, 92, 311; 1897, I, 304, II, 445. *Saturday Review*, LXXXI, 310, 353; LXXXII, 631; *Critic*, XXXI, 234, 361; besides the articles previously quoted from.

A VISIT TO HENRY JAMES

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I

It was in the summer of 1907 that I made a visit at Lamb House. I had met Henry James in 1905, when he was engaged in that perilous adventure of rediscovering his native land after twenty-one years of self-exile, of which so many reverberations and perturbations are to be found in his letters.[1] Two years of repose in that "tight anchorage at Rye, a definite little downward burrow, in the ancient world"—as he wrote Edmund Gosse in a piteous access of homesickness—had served to obliterate in great part the nightmare of his American adventure, and my host proved to be at Lamb House a much more cheerful and communicating mortal than the harassed traveler beside the "hard pale green jade" of Lake Michigan! After a ramble on the smooth Downs—the novelist's accustomed daily airing—we returned one evening of my brief visit to dinner and talk about the library fire, which fell naturally enough upon methods of literary composition. James, who was sauntering to and fro in the room, one hand in his trousers' pocket and the other holding a smouldering cigarette used to emphasize the turn of his enormous periods, described his recently developed manner of composing, whereby a skilful amanuensis caught his words as they flowed or rather burst in gusts, while he ambulated, cigarette in hand, about his study. I say "burst" rather than "flow," because at that time Henry James had a distinct, though I suspect cultivated, hesitation in speech, an asthmatic catch, which favored the mental formulation of the huge sentence apparatus he was about to project. The phrases, like tangled balls of knitting wool, were shot out over the obstacle of the stammer, again repressed until another link had come forward, etc., until in a final sighing subsidence, the sentence was finished, the thing done, ended (unless to be regurgitated and reknit in the next burst of utterance!). . . . .

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[1] *The Letters of Henry James, Selected and Edited by Percy Lubbock,* 2 vols., New York, 1920.

"You began," I interposed in one of these impedimental pauses, "this method of composition, by aid of amanuensis, in the middle of 'Princess Casamassima'?"

"How did you know that?" he shot back with an uninhibited directness of speech that reverted to the days of *Washington Square.*

"Because," I said, "that is where your style began to change."

"Oh!" he mused, frowningly . . . . and after a time proceeded to defend the process of dictation over the labors of written composition. His admirable secretary, it seemed, typed his flowing periods with wide-spaced lines so that the novelist could easily make the many revisions—and compressions—he found so necessary. The manuscript was then retyped and the process repeated until after the agonizing struggle with proof the thing was finally dismissed to the public. Our talk was interesting to me because of my very definite convictions on these matters of mechanical method, which differed quite radically from those of the Master, and must have lasted late into the night. . . . .

I find among the *Letters* one to his English literary agent, a Mr. Pinker, which further illustrates and defends his method of composition (which obviously had so much to do with that surprising evolution of style from say *The Portrait of a Lady* to *The Wings of a Dove*). The agent had been prodding or inquiring for manuscript (*The Golden Bowl*), and the novelist defends and excuses himself:

> I have been working on the book with unremitting intensity the whole of every blessed morning since I began it, some thirteen months ago, ... but I can work only in my own way—a deucedly good one, by the same token!—and am producing the best book, I seem to conceive, that I have ever done. I have really done it fast, for what it is, and for the way I do it—the way I seem condemned to; which is to *overtreat* my subject by developments and amplifications that have, in large part, eventually to be greatly compressed, but to the prior operation of which the thing afterwards owes what is most durable in its quality. I have written, in perfection, 200,000 words of the G. B.—with the rarest perfection!—and you can imagine how much of that, which has taken time, has had to come out. It is not assuredly an economical way of work in the short run, but it is, for me, in the long; and at any rate one can proceed but in one's own manner.[1]

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[1] *Letters*, II, 15.

Presently we shall see to what extent these "developments and amplifications" ran when it came to re-treating his earlier work in preparation for the definitive "New York Edition," and it is permissible to believe that not always was the final draft so "greatly compressed" from its admitted "overtreatment." At any rate that was the novelist's final method of working out his conceptions, a method be it observed (as one can see at a glance by inspecting the facsimile of a page of the revised proofs of *The American,* in the *Letters,* II, 70) the exact opposite of Balzac, who built up on the bare framework of his story an enormous accretion of interpolations. The Henry James way was much like the process boys use in making snow images of cutting away the superfluous bulk of accumulated material, and pressing out the features from the compressible matter under their hand. It is further to be noted that when it came to the more cramping form of the play, the novelist was forced back upon the word-saving drudgery of manual composition. Says Mr. Lubbock (introduction to Vol. II of *The Letters,* pp. 6–7):

> The blissful hours of dictation in the garden-house at Rye were interrupted while he was at work on the plays; he found he could compass the concision of the play-form only by writing with his own hand, foregoing the temptation to expand and develope which came while he created aloud.

II

That there were readers who regretted the old manner and wished that the novelist might return to the more laborious practice of "writing with his own hand, foregoing the temptation to expand and develop which came while he created aloud," that "overtreating" the subject by "developments and amplifications" (in which the author took such gustful delight), there is ample evidence in this characteristically frank and zestful letter from William James to his brother Henry on the occasion of reading *The American Scene* —that result of the phatasmagoria of the repatriated—in May, 1907:

> You know how opposed your whole "third manner" of execution is to the literary ideals which animate my crude and Orson-like breast, mine being to say a thing in one sentence as straight and explicit as it can be made, and then to drop it forever; yours being to avoid naming it straight, but by dint of breathing and sighing all round and round it, to arouse in the reader who may have a similar perception already (Heaven help him if he hasn't!)

> the illusion of a solid object, made (like the "ghost" at the Polytechnic) wholly out of impalpable materials, air, and the prismatic interferences of light, ingeniously focussed by mirrors on empty space. But you do it, that's the queerness! And the complication of innuendo and associative reference on the enormous scale to which you give way to it does so *build out* the matter for the reader that the result is to solidify, by the mere bulk of the process, the like perception from which *he* has to start. As air, by dint of its volume, will weigh like a corporeal body; so his own poor little initial perception, swathed in this gigantic envelopment of suggestive atmosphere grows like a germ into something vastly bigger and more substantial. But it's the rummest method for one to employ systematically as you do nowadays; and you employ it at your peril. In this crowded and hurried reading age, pages that require such close attention remain unread and neglected. . . . . The method seems perverse: "Say it out for God's sake," they cry, "and have done with it." And so I say now, give us *one* thing in your older, directer manner, just to show that in spite of your paradoxical success in this unheard-of method, you *can* still write according to accepted canons. Give us that interlude; and then continue like the "curiosity of literature" which you have become. For gleams and innuendoes and felicitous verbal insinuations you are unapproachable, but the *core* of literature is solid. Give it to us *once* again! The bare perfume of things will not support existence, and the effect of solidity you reach is but perfume and simulacrum.[1]

Knowing the novelist's sensitive ruffling at the merest hint of criticism about his cherished methods, I have looked searchingly through his correspondence of this period to discover the reaction to this hearty beating from "dearest Brother William." It must somewhere have left the mark of its welts. But I have looked in vain. That discreet editor—the too discreet Mr. Lubbock, who has taken his task as a trust to be fulfilled that the real subject shall not by any inadvertent slip be allowed to become known to the inquisitive public—has carefully "lifted" from the correspondence the reply to this ardent brotherly flagellation.

Yet under another date altogether, in fact two years previous, in a letter of November 23, 1905, from Lamb House to "Dearest William," I have found tucked into some graceful family verbiage (in which Henry was so adept) what must have been an echo of the same controversy, if not exactly a riposte to the blunt attack quoted above:

> I mean (in response to what you write me of your having read the Golden B.) to try to produce some uncanny form of thing, in fiction, that will gratify

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[1] *Letters of William James*, Boston, 1920, 2 vols., II, 277–78.

you, as brother—but let me say, dear William, that I shall greatly be humiliated if you *do* like it, and thereby lump it, in your affection, with things, of the current age, that I have heard you express admiration for and that I would sooner descend to a dishonored grave than have written. Still I *will* write you your book, on that two-and-two-make-four system on which all the awful truck that surrounds us is produced, and *then* descend to my dishonored grave—taking up the art of the slate pencil instead of, longer, the art of the brush. . . . . But it is seriously too late at night, and I am too tired, for me to express myself on this question—beyond saying that I'm always sorry when I hear of your reading anything of mine, and always hope you won't—you seem to me so constitutionally unable to "enjoy" it, and so condemned to look at it from a point of view remotely alien to mine in writing it, and to the conditions out of which, as mine, it has inevitably sprung—so that all the intentions that have been its main reason for being (with *me*) appear never to have reached you at all—and you appear to assume that the life, the elements forming its subject-matter, deviate from felicity in not having an impossible analogy with the life of Cambridge. I see nowhere about me done or dreamed of the things that alone for me constitute the *interest* of the doing of the novel—and yet it is in a sacrifice of them on their very own ground that the thing you suggest to me evidently consists. It shows how far apart and to what different ends we have had to work out (very naturally and properly!) our respective intellectual lives.

Henry concludes this dignified (all but the sneer at the Cambridge way of life) fraternal self-defense, with a rhapsody upon *Kipps* which (together with a similar admiration for *Tono-Bungay* and *Ann Veronica*) one would think sufficiently in the "two-and-two-make-four system" recommended by Brother William! and, also, with a generous appreciation of the stern William's own manner and matter in his recent publications.

III

To return to our conversations of those summer days at Lamb House: they were, naturally, for the most part on the topic of the definitive edition—the New York edition—of the novelist's works. The project had been under way ever since the American visit—indeed it was one of the attendant considerations that had moved him to make the journey, and since his return he had been at work on the new edition. In May of 1907, he wrote Miss Grace Norton, "I have been very busy all these last months in revising my Productions for a (severely-sifted) Collective and Definitive Edition." To me he emphasized the quality of selectiveness which the new edition was to exemplify: it was to be "severely-sifted," and also embellished. "Indeed," he said, "it was only on that condition that I consented to its being undertaken at all." Knowing even in my inexperience of those days something of the ways of publishers with authors whose success is more of esteem than of dollars, I added the necessary grain of salt to this presentation of the situation, in which view I am fortified by discovering among the *Letters* a frank complaint to Howells of the restrictions to which the American publishers were forcing him by confining the New York edition to twenty-three (ultimately twenty-six) volumes. This necessitated the exclusion, to its creator's regret, of the "tolerably full and good *Bostonians* of nearly a quarter-century ago; that production never having, even to my much-disciplined patience, received any sort of justice." This was written in 1908 toward the close of the exhausting labor, but in the summer of 1907 the author was full of the opportunity for suppression and emendation which "the selective and definitive edition" was to make. I was disturbed to find that among the "pretty numerous things omitted from deep-seated preference and design" was to be *Washington Square*, an assortment of comparatively straightforward tales in his early American manner, and also, I believe, *Daisy Miller*, which found a reprieve, possibly thanks to the publisher's conviction that it was one of the few commercially remunerative books in the list.

Whatever my emotions may have been over the selectiveness of the new edition, they paled beside those which the Master's view of his duty to his older creations called for. That, in short, was nothing less than a complete "re-writing" of these earlier and primitively simple efforts in the later manner—the manner of the amanuensis and the "overtreatment"! This process of "retouching" is alluded to in many passages of his letters of this date, which reinforce my own recollection of our considerable discussion on the point whether a creator ought to take these sorts of liberties with his past creations, and what sorts he might safely undertake. Apropos of the discarded *Bostonians*, James wrote Howells, "It will take, doubtless, a great deal of artful re-doing—and I haven't, now, had the courage or time for anything so formidable as touching and re-touching it." One wishes that this access of lassitude had overtaken the novelist earlier in his labors, so that *Roderick Hudson* and *The American* might have escaped the too eager brush of the Retoucher! . . . . In the letter to Miss Grace Norton from which I have already quoted, James says of the revision:

> Then hitches and halts supervened—the whole matter being complicated by the variety and the conflict of my scattered publishers, till at last the thing is on the right basis (in the two countries—for it has all had to be brought about by quite separate arts here and in America) and a "handsome"—I hope really handsome and not too cheap—in fact sufficiently dear—array will be the result—owing much to the close amendment (and even "re-writing") of the four earliest novels and to illuminatory classification, collocation, juxtaposition and separation through the whole series.

I quote the entire sentence precisely as written because it illustrates admirably the kind of medium into which the old, and more limpid, work was to be run. He adds, "The work on the earlier novels has involved much labor—to the best effect for the vile things I'm convinced."

IV

It was on what Henry James himself might have called, in the earlier days, a suave English summer afternoon that the complete heinousness, from my point of view, of the contemplated undertaking against those youthful writings was revealed to me. The novelist, comfortably filling an ample *chaise longue* on the lawn of Lamb House, read to me certain passages from the first edition of *The American* (1877), then the amended and retouched version on which he was now at work. The former was brisk and direct enough to please even "Brother William"—the book of a young man! The new, "retouched" sentences dropping in asthmatic involutions from the novelist's lips sounded to me like the "mouthings and breathings," to which Brother William had objected so vigorously, and the "emendations" stood out like spots on the clean, neat pages of the original, so easily discernible they were even to the hearing. And the revised version was somehow in the slower mood of age, ill fitting itself to the simple theme of *The American.* As a young novice, I was considerably in awe of my host, the respected Master of my craft; nevertheless, I ventured after a while (as the effects of his "retouching" became more and more painfully evident) to remonstrate—to say something about the respect one owed to one's past, living or buried, and the impossibility of this sort of resurrection by breathing the breath of one's present life into what for good or ill had been done and finished under another inspiration, as a different if inferior person. (After comparing the two versions of *The American* before writing this article, I am more convinced than ever of this truth!) My host, however, did not agree with me in the least, and as always whenever his own practice was in question took me up roundly and vivaciously. This was the theme, if I remember rightly, of our remaining intercourse during my visit, and though the Master overbore me with his gusty asseverations ("I could never allow such bad writing in a definitive edition!") and I yielded a bit, to the extent of admitting verbal corrections (for one need not, I thought, preserve one's slips in grammar and punctuation, assuming one made any, for posterity to gloat over), but on the main point of contention being unconvinced I sank into a polite silence and let the older man have his way—until on the occasion of the inevitable bread-and-butter letter, from some small place in Brittany to which I had gone after the Lamb House visit. That letter must have contained some bolder iteration of my viewpoint—to let one's past get along as best it might, a part and a genuine part of one's whole, to tinker with which was as clearly dangerous as to try to relive one's early loves—and sufficiently spirited (at a safe distance from my awesome host) to have elicited this reply.

LAMB HOUSE
RYE
SUSSEX

August 7th, 1907

DEAR ROBERT HERRICK:

It has been charming to hear from you, but I am always miles & miles behind all proper forms of correspondence. When I have done a day's stint of work—that is of "literary composition"—with any intensity, any power to write further in any manner, dreadfully abandons me. I am depleted & exanimate, & letters come off as they can—the larger proportion of them never coming off at all. But I must thank you for the gentle gift of *The Common Lot* too (which I want to read & shall read: it rests on my table only till I shall have got into the traces again for dragging my cart along in its customary ruts. I have been since my return from the U.S. much derailed—but things are running more smoothly. I rejoice heartily that your Breton conditions prove so charming to you and may you (———) the romantic experience. Why do you speak of "sparing" me the expression of your "unregenerate enthusiasm" for them? I shouldn't have supposed that at this time of day *j'en étais encore* at having to prove *my* haunting preoccupation with the things of France. You didn't even come—you told me—to my fanatical Balzac lecture!—All thanks, at any rate, for your so curious & urgent remarks on the matter of my revisions, in respect to some of the old stuff I spoke of to you in connection with the plan of an *édition définitive.* I am greatly touched by your having felt and thought strongly enough on the matter to take the trouble to remonstrate at the idea of my retouching. The retouching with any insistence will *in fact* bear but on one book (*The American*—on *R. Hudson* and the *P. of a Lady* very much less) but in essence I shouldn't have planned the edition at all unless I had felt close revision—wherever seeming called for—to be an indispensable part of it. I do every justice to your contention, but don't think me reckless or purblind if I say that I hold myself really right & you really wrong. The *raison d'être* (the edition's) is in its being selective as well as collective, & by the mere fact of leaving out certain things (I have tried to read over *Washington Square* and *I can't*, & I fear it must go!) I exercise a control, a discrimination, I treat certain portions of my work as unhappy accidents. (Many portions of many—of all—men's work are.) From that it is but a step further—but it is 1 o'clock a.m. & I've written 7 letters, & I won't attempt to finish that sentence or expand my meaning. Forgive my blatant confidence in my own lucid literary sense! If I had planned not to retouch —that is revise closely—I would have reprinted *all* my stuff & that idea is horrific. You also will be ravished! Trust me & I shall be justified. But good night & pardon my untidy scrawl & my belated incoherence. Recall me kindly to your wife & believe me, Yours always,

Henry James

This reply to my protest, judging from the letters discreetly revealed by Mr. Lubbock, is characteristic of the novelist's elaborate approach of apology toward his subject, in which at the close are imbedded the few realistic words of his message to his correspondent, as, "Trust me and I shall be justified!" In Mr. Lubbock's collection I find a similar answer to an apparently similar protest against the novelist's freedom in retouching early work, and ruining old simplicities by new involutions. Under date of November 13, 1906, James wrote to a Mrs. Dew-Smith from Lamb House:

As for the tidied-up book—[in this case, "Roderick Hudson"]—I am greatly touched by your generous interest in the question of the tidying-up, and yet really think your view of that process erratic and—quite of course—my own view well-inspired! . . . . To attempt to retouch the *substance* of the thing would be as foolish as it would be (in a *done* and impenetrable structure) impracticable. What I have tried for is a mere revision of surface and expression, as the thing is positively in many places quite *vilely* written! The essence of the matter is wholly unaltered—save for seeming, in places, I think, a little better brought out. . . . . I do continue to wish perversely and sorely, that you had waited—to reperuse—for this prettier and cleaner form.

"Brother William's" philosophy should have convinced the novelist of the impossibility—above all in his peculiar case—of making a "mere revision of surface and expression" without inevitably affecting "the substance," where the two are so inextricably fused as Henry James under other circumstances would be only too delighted to admit that they are fused in his own work.

V

The proof of the matter, however—and it is not to my thinking even now after so many other more important interests have imposed themselves upon our attention, a totally unimportant matter—is to be found in a close comparison of such a fresh, young man's rendering of life in *The American* with the retouched style of the version in the New York edition. Fortunately, the more dramatic and conversational passages—and there are rather more of them than usually to be found in a James novel—are comparatively free of the "tidying-up" process, but the explanatory and more deeply analytical and summarizing passages have suffered a strange sea change from youth to middle, even old, age. How constantly the retouching brush was used upon *The American* may be seen by glancing at the facsimile of a page of the revised proof already referred to. The effects obtained by such verbal re-working are illustrated in typical passages printed here in parallel columns:

He flattered himself that he was not in love, but his biographer may be supposed to know better. He claimed, at least, none of the exemptions and emoluments of the romantic passion. Love. he believed, made a fool of a man, and his present emotion was not folly but wisdom; wisdom, sound, serene, well-directed. What he felt was an intense, all-consuming tenderness, which had for	He flattered himself *he* had not fallen, and hadn't needed to fall, after the fashion enjoined by him on Valentin, in love, but his biographer may be supposed to know better what, as he would have said, was the matter with him. He claimed certainly none of the exemptions and emoluments of the merely infatuated state. That state, he considered, was too consistent with asininity,

its object an extraordinarily graceful and delicate, and at the same time impressive, woman who lived in a large gray house on the left bank of the Seine. This tenderness turned very often into a positive heart-ache; a sign in which, certainly, Newman ought to have read the appellation which science has conferred upon his sentiment. When the heart has a heavy weight upon it, it hardly matters whether the weight be of gold or of lead; when, at any rate, happiness passes into that place in which it becomes identical with pain, a man may admit that the reign of wisdom is temporarily suspended. Newman wished Madame de Cintré so well that nothing he could think of doing for her in the future rose to the high standard which his present mood had set itself. She seemed to him so felicitous a product of nature and circumstance that his invention, musing on future combinations, was constantly catching its breath with the fear of stumbling into some brutal compression or mutilation of her beautiful personal harmony. This is what I mean by Newman's tenderness: Madame de Cintré pleased him so, exactly as she was, that his desire to interpose between her and the troubles of life had the quality of a young mother's eagerness to protect the sleep of her firstborn child. Newman was simply charmed, and he handled his charm as if it were a music-box which would stop if one shook it. There can be no better proof of the hankering epicure that is hidden in every man's temperament, waiting for a signal from some divine confederate that he may safely and he had never had a firmer control of his reason or a higher opinion of his judgment. What he was conscious of, none the less, was an intense, all-consuming tenderness, which had for its object an extraordinarily graceful and harmonious, yet at the same time insidiously agitating woman who lived in a grand gray house on the left bank of the Seine. His theory of his relation to her was that he had become conscious of how beautifully she might, for the question of his future, come to his aid; but this left unexplained the fact that his confidence had somehow turned to a strange, muffled heart-ache. He was in truth infinitely anxious, and, when he questioned his anxiety, knew it was not all for himself. If she might come to his aid he might come to hers; and he had the imagination—more than he had ever in his life about anything—of fantastic straits or splendid miseries in the midst of which, standing before her with wide wide arms out, he would have seen her let herself, even if still just desperately and blindly, make for his close embrace as for a refuge.

He really wouldn't have minded if some harsh need for mere money had most driven her; the creak of that hinge would have been sweet to him had it meant the giving way of the door of separation. What he wanted was to *take* her, and that her feeling herself taken should come back to him for their common relief. The full surrender, so long as she didn't make it, left the full assurance an unrest and a yearning—from which all his own peep out. Newman at last was enjoying, purely, freely, deeply. Certain of Madame de Cintré's personal qualities—the luminous sweetness of her eyes, the delicate mobility of her face, the deep liquidity of her voice—filled all his consciousness. A rose-crowned Greek of old, gazing at a marble goddess with his whole bright intellect resting satisfied in the act, could not have been a more complete embodiment of the wisdom that loses itself in the enjoyment of quiet harmonies.

[Original form (1877 ed.), pp. 215–16.]

refuge was in the fine ingenuity, the almost grim extravagance, of the prospective provision he was allowing to accumulate. She gave him the sense of "suiting" him so, exactly as she was, that his desire to interpose for her and close about her had something of the quality of that solicitude with which a fond mother might watch from the window even the restricted garden-play of a child recovering from an accident. But he was above all simply charmed, and the more for feeling wonderstruck, as the days went on, at the proved rightness both of the instinct and of the calculation that had originally moved him. It was as if there took place for him, each day, such a revelation of the possible number of forms of the "personal" appeal as he could otherwise never have enjoyed, and as made him yet ask himself how, *how*, all unaided (save as Mrs. Tristam, subtle woman, had aided him!) he could have known. For he *had*, amazingly, known. And the impression must now thereby have been for him, he thought, very much that of the wistful critic or artist who studies "style" in some exquisite work or some quiet genius, and who sees it come and come and come, and still never fail, like the truth of a perfect voice or the safety of a perfect temper. Just as such a student might say to himself, "How could I have got on without this particular research?" so Christopher Newman could only say, "Fancy this being to be had and—with my general need—my not having it!"

[New York edition, 26 vols., II (1907), 239–41.]

This passage illustrates the more insidious dangers of the reworking process when in middle or old age the creator sets himself to redraw a figure conceived in youth. For if I am not mistaken, Henry James has here subtly, probably unconsciously, altogether altered the character of his early hero—a plain, unadorned, unsubtle American, such as doubtless the novelist knew in plenty at the time when he conceived *The American*—by elaborating his reaction to his passion into something too conscious (and too sensual) for the character as originally given to his imagination. The "insidiously agitating woman" is a gratuitous addition not in keeping with what the story presents of Newman, nor was he the middle-aged egotist in his love that conceived "his theory of his relation to her was that he had become conscious of how beautifully she might, for the question of his future, come to his aid." It is only the sophistication of an age at which neither Newman nor his youthful creator had arrived in 1877, that conceives of a "full surrender, so long as she didn't make it, left the full assurance an unrest and a yearning," and finally it is wholly the mature, not to say aging heart, that in the spirit of the connoisseur sums up his hero's final attitude in love thus: "'How could I have got on without this particular research?' so Christopher Newman could only say, 'Fancy this being to be had and—with my general need—my not having it!'" But I cannot fancy young Mr. James's Christopher Newman saying about his love any such thing, or feeling even remotely that way about Madame de Cintré. Such a reaction to love is reserved for the egotism of maturity where the property interest has sufficiently established itself as instinct to corrode even the loftiest of relations. In this instance the retoucher has not merely put in a feature here and accentuated a dull tone there, but he has superimposed upon a quite simple and consistent type a much more conscious, and to my taste less attractive, personality.

There are, of course, many other equally applicable instances of the fatal redrawing done in retouching, notably in the last summarizing chapter of the book, where Newman's quite intelligibly saddened consciousness of defeat is woven into an ingenious web of subtle considerations, with the inevitable arabesques, such as "he might have been some solitary spare athlete practicing restlessly in the corridor of the circus" (which it is wholly impossible for me to imagine Christopher Newman ever thinking of)! There are laws protecting children against too ruthless treatment by their parents: for the artist there should be some sort of conscience which forbids him to lay hands on the offspring of his youth. Pirandello's "Six Characters" might well take this into account in their search for a creator!

VII

As I close these pages, other matters of our conversation those summer days in the pleasant brick house at Rye come back to memory—estimates by the Master of Gissing, anecdotes of Hardy (and *Jude the Obscure*), of Mrs. Humphrey Ward ("Dear good lady! she did not understand a single word I was saying!"), of De Maupassant, etc.; but these were largely gossip. The one important consideration of art which we discussed was this matter of re-treating old work. And that I realize is, after all, of not ultimate importance. These questions of literary technique, of the artist's dealings with his art, bulked larger perhaps in the emptier days before the great Disaster was ever dreamed of. At least they did to me, who had embarked upon the writer's dubious and fascinating course. And Henry James on his pinnacle of deeply appreciated isolation could quite suitably trouble his soul voluminously about them. It is now another, if not a better world, and the preoccupations of our writers are about matters that I am afraid would "horridly" disturb the serenity of the noted expatriate, laboring at his long task of transsubstantiation by means of words Manner almost (if never quite!) into Matter.

ROGER BACON AND THE "DIALOGUES" OF SENECA

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The works of the philosopher Seneca entered upon the perilous voyage through the Middle Ages under especially favorable auspices. They had won the approval of the fathers of the church on account of the stern morality of the Stoic doctrine, they appealed to the rhetorical taste of the times by their many brilliant sententious utterances, and finally they were invested with a halo even brighter than that of Virgil's messianic eclogue. For Seneca's most powerful appeal to the imagination of the Middle Ages was through the alleged correspondence with the apostle Paul.

Our oldest Seneca MS dates from the eighth century; a considerable number of ninth- and tenth-century MSS have survived, and Seneca is mentioned with increasing frequency in the manuscript catalogues of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. He fared better than most of the classical authors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when interest in the classics was on the decline. No catalogue of MSS of any size fails to list a Seneca; a large number of MSS of this period survive, and his works, with one or two exceptions, were known to writers like John of Salisbury, Vincent of Beauvais, and Richard de Furnival in the form in which we now have them. The high-water mark was reached in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though the interest in his *Naturales Quaestiones* diminished. The *Dialogues*, which were but little known before, attracted increased attention; they never attained, however, the popularity of his other works.

The text history of Seneca's works reflects the various vicissitudes that attended the transmission of classical authors. The text of the *Naturales Quaestiones* depends on MSS not earlier than the twelfth century; most of the MSS belong in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Gercke used twenty for his edition (Teubner, 1907), all of them derived from a single codex of the ninth century. He disregarded the mass of late MSS (*deteriores*) as of no value.

For the *De beneficiis* and *De clementia,* we have two families of MSS, one represented by an eighth-century Lorsch codex, now in the Vatican (N), the other by a ninth-century MS, and a large number of later MSS, all derived, according to Hosius, the latest editor (Teubner, 1900), from an eighth-century archetype. These two eighth-century MSS go back to an archetype of the fourth or fifth century. Gertz, an earlier editor, made N the basis of his text and regarded the readings of the other MSS as "emendations."

The *Epistulae* have perhaps the best manuscript foundation. Hense (Teubner, 1914) used ten MSS, most of them belonging to the ninth or tenth centuries, without defining their exact relationship. The mass of *deteriores* (MSS later than the eleventh century) he disregarded, though he admits that they alone contain some correct readings and are not derived from any of the *meliores.* He inclines to support Gertz, who takes the same view of the *deteriores* here as in the case of the *deteriores* of *De beneficiis* and *De clementia.* But obviously a group of MSS that alone contain correct readings cannot thus summarily be rejected without careful examination. The question of the *deteriores* is more important for the *Epistulae* than for the *De beneficiis* and *De clementia,* and it becomes the crucial one in the case of the *Dialogues.*

Of all the philosophical works of Seneca, the text of the *Dialogues* has suffered most in transmission. We have on the one hand a single MS of the eleventh century, written at Montecassino, now in the Ambrosian library at Milan; on the other hand are the *deteriores.* How many of these there are we do not know; no one has ever taken the trouble to enumerate them, much less to examine them. Some of them are probably descendants of the *Ambrosianus,* others undoubtedly represent an independent tradition; some are "mixed" and, like most Renaissance MSS, all seem to have suffered more or less from interpolation. The vagueness of our knowledge of the *deteriores* is reflected in the loose use of the word. It is used to contrast the late MSS with A; it is often simply an expression of the editor's estimate of their value as compared with A; and finally, as generally in this article, it is employed, though often only by implication, to designate only those that are not descended from A. The foundation of the modern text of Seneca was laid by Fickert in 1842–45. For the

Dialogues, he used the *Ambrosianus,* whose value he failed fully to recognize, and eight *deteriores,* all of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; he also examined the older editions, which in view of the lack of old MSS are especially important. Fickert used his material in haphazard fashion and without discrimination, but he by no means deserved the abuse that was heaped upon him. He is not to be blamed if his ambition outstripped his performance; the task of editing Seneca in his day was beyond the powers of a single scholar.

Haase's edition (Teubner, 1852) added no new MS material, and the second edition (1887) was only a reprint of the first. The edition of Koch (1879) definitely rejected all the MSS except the *Ambrosianus,* which he regarded as the source of all the others. He made a more careful study of the MS and attempted to distinguish the hands of the various correctors. For a part of the text where the *Ambrosianus* fails us, he examined a Berlin MS and two Milan MSS that had already been used by Fickert. A second edition was reprinted (1884) without change. Two years later Gertz's edition appeared, edited *ad codicem praecipue Ambrosianum.* Gertz had discovered that Koch's collation of the codex was faulty, and he made a new and apparently very careful study of the MS and especially of its correctors. In regard to the relationship between the *Ambrosianus* and the *deteriores,* he abandoned his earlier view that the latter are descended from the former; he now admitted that there are two families, and asserted that if we had all the descendants of both archetypes we might have some hope of restoring their common archetype. As it is, he argues, we have no such hope, for many of these MSS have undoubtedly been lost, others have not yet been brought to light, and of the rest we have insufficient knowledge! Such an argument leaves one bewildered. It is not necessary to have all the MSS in order to restore the archetype; whether enough have survived to make this possible can be determined only by collecting and examining them. Whose duty is it, if not an editor's, to bring new MSS to light, if there are any, and to examine those of which we have insufficient knowledge? Gertz sheds all this responsibility by asserting that the *Ambrosianus* alone is sufficient for constituting the text and that, with the exception of one place where the *deteriores* fill a lacuna in the *Ambrosianus,* there is hardly a correct reading

(Gertz uses the term "correction") in the *deteriores* which we could not ourselves restore by conjecture. In fact, he assures us, it is certain that many of these "corrections" were the work of the scribes; i.e., he assumes that the errors of the *Ambrosianus* were already in the archetype of all our MSS. Our faith in the sufficiency of the *Ambrosianus* is somewhat shattered when we observe how frequently Gertz has rejected its reading in favor of the *deteriores*. There are several hundred such cases; it is true that many of these errors are of little or no importance, being matters of spelling, incorrect division of words, etc., which could easily be corrected by a careful scribe, but there are some that would require considerable ingenuity. Gertz's theory reverses the usual course of events in text tradition. Error tends to propagate itself and each succeeding stage is further from the truth than the preceding; this is especially true in matters of spelling and word-separation. The scribes of the *deteriores*, on the contrary, are assumed gradually to have eliminated hundreds of supposed errors of the archetype and at the same time to have defiled the text with new corruptions and interpolations to such an extent as to render the MSS useless to modern editors. A more reasonable and consistent view would be to regard these correct readings as genuine readings that have come down from the archetype, and not as "corrections."

There are also several hundred cases where Gertz has rejected all the MSS and admitted readings of the early editions. Whether these "corrections" are the work of the editors or are derived from MSS, Gertz does not know and evidently does not think it worth while to try to discover. The possibility also that new MSS might furnish new readings does not impress him. It must be admitted that the prospect of examining Renaissance MSS and of attempting to restore order out of their chaos is not an inviting one, but certainly it is worth while to search for pre-Renaissance MSS and to discover what evidence they have to offer. It is generally possible to establish family relationships with some degree of probability in MSS of this period. If this could be done for the *Dialogues*, we should be able to reconstruct an archetype of the *deteriores* which would, in all probability, be older than the *Ambrosianus*, carrying us back to the ninth or tenth century.

The attitude of the latest editor of the *Dialogues*, Hermes (Teubner, 1905), is reflected in the first sentence of the Preface; he offers, he says, no new critical material because no new MSS have been brought to light that are worth collating, and it is not necessary to collate the *Ambrosianus* again. His attitude toward the *deteriores* may be summed up as follows: We cannot dispense with them; this does not mean, however, that they should be collated and examined. Who would undertake such a task with such a slight chance of reaping a reward for his labors? The good readings are scattered through so many MSS; is it likely that there were several old MSS in existence from which these good readings could have been derived? The good readings are not so difficult as to be beyond the powers of invention of medieval scholars. Hermes, then, is simply following in the footsteps of Gertz. He further appeals to Hense's treatment of the *deteriores* of the *Epistulae* in support of his position. But the *deteriores* play a far more important rôle for the *Dialogues* than for the *Epistulae* and, as we have already seen, Hense was by no means justified in his neglect of them.

We have, then, this curious situation: Six important editions of the *Dialogues* have appeared since Fickert's edition of 1845, without the addition of a single new MS except for a limited portion of the text—a situation without a parallel and a serious reproach to classical scholarship. This procedure on the part of the editors has not gone without protest. Rossbach, who has the widest knowledge of the MSS of Seneca, has repeatedly voiced objections,[1] and in particular has called attention[2] to a thirteenth-century Paris MS that offers attractive readings not found in other MSS.

It is not to be understood that the study of the *Dialogues* has been at a standstill during this time. Haase, Koch, Gertz, and Hermes made important improvements in the text, the results of many years' study of Seneca and a thorough knowledge of his way of thinking and his diction. All the more pity that this knowledge could not have been applied to whatever evidence is to be derived from the *deteriores*.

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[1] *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1898, pp. 940 ff., and *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, XXVII (1907), 1479; cf. Bickel's review of Hermes' edition, *ibid.*, XXVI (1906), 264, and Marouzeau, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXVII (1913), 47.

[2] *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, Bd. II, Heft 3 (1887), 9.

An additional sin of omission can be charged against the last editor of the *Dialogues:* the failure to discover the importance of Roger Bacon as a text witness. In this he has plenty of company for, so far as I have observed, Bacon has escaped the notice of Seneca students completely. Manitius[1] noted one or two citations from the *Opus Tertium,* but these were not from the *Dialogues* and were of no importance except to show that Bacon had a MS of the *Epistulae.* Bacon apparently had all the prose works of Seneca except the *Apocolocyntosis,* and is apparently the first medieval scholar to possess the *Dialogues.* The third part of Part VII ("Moral Philosophy") of the *Opus Maius* is based largely on Seneca. Chapters ii–ix (II, 261–98 of Bridges' edition) contain an extensive series of quotations from *De ira* and other works of Seneca as well as numerous citations from other classical authors, especially Cicero. The remaining chapters of Part III (pp. 299–365) are almost entirely composed of excerpts from the other *Dialogues.* By a strange mischance, Part VII was omitted in the first edition (Jebb, 1733, reprinted at Venice, 1750), and it was not until the appearance of Bridges' edition in 1897 that this material became available to scholars.

Bacon explains (*Opus Maius,* II, 323) why he devoted so much attention to Seneca:

> Sed et causa specialis est quod in his libris moror; quia licet huiusmodi libros persecutus sim ab infantia, tamen libros *De ira* et *Ad Helviam* et *Cur bonis mala accidunt* et *An in sapientem cadunt contumeliae et iniuriae* et *Ad Marciam* et tres ad hoc sequentes non potui unquam videre nisi nunc; et nescio si ad manus Vestrae Gloriae pervenerunt propter quod abundantius hic scribere sum conatus;

cf. also *Opus Tertium* (Brewer, p. 56):

> Libros vero Senecae, quorum flores Vestrae Beatitudini conscripsi, nunquam potui invenire nisi a tempore mandati vestri quamvis diligens fui in hac parte iam a viginti annis et pluribus.

Pope Clement's letter to Bacon ordering him to send him a copy of his works was dated June 22, 1266. It appeared, however, that the Pope was laboring under a misconception, for the works had not yet been written. Bacon immediately set about his great task, and by the end of the following year he had finished the *Opus Maius,* the *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium*. In the last, he explained certain omissions in the first two works as due to the great haste in which they had been composed (*propter hoc quod in illis festinavi*). This point is of importance as will appear below.

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[1] *Rheinisches Museum Ergänzungsheft,* XLVII (1892), 45, n. 4.

Bacon, then, discovered a MS of the *Dialogues* in 1266 or 1267. We have no means of determining its age; Bacon says nothing about the MS, and there is no paleographical evidence to help us. It belongs to the same tradition as all the other known MSS, as the loss of the beginning of *De otio* shows. This dialogue forms a part of the preceding one, *De vita beata*, in all our MSS and in the editions until Lipsius separated them; Bacon did not recognize it as a separate dialogue. Our MS was not a copy of the *Ambrosianus*, as Bridges suggested,[1] since it contained a page at the beginning of *De ira* that had been left vacant by the scribe of the *Ambrosianus*, who recognized that the MS from which he was copying was defective at this point and left a page blank in the hope that it might later be filled in. This was actually done, but not until the fourteenth century. Furthermore in Bacon's codex *De brevitate vitae* and *De consolatione ad Polybium*, which is defective at the beginning, formed a single dialogue.[2] The *Ambrosianus* has the same defect at this point, but the two dialogues are separated by an *Explicit* and an *Incipit*. Bacon's MS, therefore, belonged to the class of *deteriores*.

The value of Roger Bacon for the text criticism of the *Dialogues* may be summed up as follows:

1. He represents the oldest complete MS of the family of the *deteriores* that has yet been brought to light.[3]

2. He furnishes us at last with manuscript evidence confirming or supporting a number of modern emendations that have been accepted as certain by recent editors, and so brings us at these points from three to six centuries nearer the time of the author.

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[1] *Opus Maius*, II, 365.

[2] Five dialogues are therefore really included in *tres ad hoc sequentes* of Bacon's list quoted on p. 250: (1) *De brevitate vitae+De consolatione ad Polybium;* (2) *De vita beata+De otio;* (3) *De tranquillitate animi.*

[3] The thirteenth-century Florence MS, occasionally cited by Gertz, contains only the *De ira;* and the thirteenth-century Paris MS collated by Rossbach, but not used by Hermes, does not contain, and never did contain, *De brevitate vitae, Consolatio ad Polybium* and *Consolatio ad Helviam.*

3. He furnishes us the only manuscript evidence thus far discovered for numerous readings of the old editions that have been accepted as correct by modern editors, and here brings us three or more centuries nearer to Seneca's time.

4. He furnishes additional manuscript support for many readings of the *deteriores* and here carries us at least a century beyond the oldest MS of this group that has been used by recent editors; that is, he takes us into the period of the pre-Renaissance MSS.

5. He furnishes us a number of individual readings the value of which cannot be determined until the *deteriores* have been more carefully examined.

It is not the purpose of the present article to enter into a discussion in detail of all of Bacon's readings. A selection will be sufficient to show his importance as well as the necessity of further study of the *deteriores* and also to suggest the advisability of a more careful examination of medieval citations from classical authors in general.

Readings in Bacon not found elsewhere must be regarded with suspicion. He constantly changes words and constructions; he omits freely and makes many additions. In the majority of cases, these changes can be recognized as such but there remains a small residue upon which judgment must be suspended. He generally, but not always, changes the plural of *deus* to the singular; he substitutes *deus* for *Iuppiter;* an adjective like *sapiens* or *dives* for the name of a person, or a medieval word for the classical one (*activiores* for *acriores*). There are examples of this sort on every page. He, or his scribes, are often careless; e.g., one short passage of the *Epistulae* is quoted three times but each quotation differs from the others in some detail. On the other hand, and this is important, he apparently does not try to emend the text. He himself tells us in what great haste the *Opus Maius* and the *Opus Minus* were written. When in addition we consider the mere size of the volumes he wrote in his *annus mirabilis*[1] and the vast range and abstruse character of the subject-matter, we may feel fairly certain that Bacon had little time, even if he had the inclination, to dabble in textual emendation. In fact, he quite clearly omits many passages simply because they were corrupt.

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[1] The *Opus Maius*, *Opus Minus*, and *Opus Tertium*, together with the *Multiplicatio specierum* (which he sent to the Pope in two versions), cover over 1,700 pages, and the *Opus Minus*, as we have it, is defective.

In the following passages, Bacon confirms or supports emendations that have been accepted by one or more of the recent editors.[1]

I 4, 12 *faciet*] BKGHe *faciat* AH
II 13, 5 *poterit*] AKGHe *potuerit* BFickert H; Gertz says Fickert's reading is due to a typographical error, which Haase repeated
IV 35, 3 *illis*] BGronoviusHKGHe *illius* A
VI 24, 5 *a veris*] BPincianusHKGHe *aversis* A
VII 25, 3 *nulla hora*] BErasmusHKGHe *nulla homo* A *nulla* (or *nullus*) *homo hora* several dett.
IX 17, 8 B has *vinum* after *curas*, G inserts it before *curas;* it is omitted by the other editors and the MSS
X 7, 5 *is*] AHe *iis* BHKG *his* A^2 ug
XII 13, 2 *avaritia te*] BG; *te* omitted by the other editors and the MSS

B supports the following emendation by Feldmann, that did not find favor with Hermes: I 4, 9 A has *sopiti;* B has *sopiuntur;* K inserts *iacent;* G inserts *torpent* and He *manent.*

Bridges' edition is wrong in the following passages where his text of Bacon is made to agree with Haase against the readings of the Seneca MSS:

II 11, 1 *animi* (or *animis*)] A; omitted by Bridges; bracketed by HKGHe. B has *animi sanitatem* instead of *animi magnanimitatem* of the Seneca MSS
V 13, 6 *altum*] Muretus HKGHe *alium* A. B omits the phrase *in altum*
15, 1 *Harpagus*] Pincianus HKGHe *harpalus* A. B has *arpallus*
16, 3 *Oeobazo*] Lipsius HKGHe *orobazo* A. B reads *orobaso*
VI 22, 3 *inscientibus*] Fickert HKGHe *intibus* A *insciis* ug; B reads *invitis*
VII 20, 5 *ero*] "amicus Gruteri" HKGHe *ego* A and B
IX 3, 3 *instillat animis*] HKGHe *instituat. animus* (*animis* A^1) A *instruit animos* ug *instituat animos* *Q3* B
X 15, 5 *transiit*] HKG *transit* AHe *transivit* ug *transibit*B
20, 4 *legit*] Bongarsius HKGHe *tegit* A *cogit* B
XI 15, 3 *capacissimum*] Gruter HKGHe *pacacissimum* or *pacatissimum* dett. (A is lacking here). B has *pacatissimum*
XII 3, 1 *exsaniari*] Juretus Lipsius HKGHe *exsanari* A and B *exsecrari* Pincianus ug

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[1] A, *Ambrosianus;* B, Bacon; H, Haase; K, Koch; G, Gertz; He, Hermes; ug, vulgate reading.

A curious error is found in V 8,2. The MSS and most of the editors read *utilis*. Heusinger suggested the emendation *mitis* which Koch adopted. Bridges' text has *mitis* but B reads *utilis*.

In the following passages, Bacon confirms or supports readings of the old editions that have been accepted by recent editors:

I 4, 1 *at*] BugHKGHe *ac* A
proprium] BugHKGHe *proptium* A
II 9, 3 *non posse*] BugHKGHe *posse non* A
18, 5 *Socratis*] BugHKGHe *socrates* A
V 26, 5 *horam*] BugHKGHe *oram* A
30, 4 *dispensandi*] BugHKGHe *despensandi* A
VI 1, 7 *fit infelicis*] BugHKGHe *finit felicis* (*ut videtur*) A
23, 2 *ingeniis*] BugHKG *ingenis* AHe
VII 1, 1 *efficiat*] BugHKGHe *efficiant* A
7, 4 *paenitentiam*] BugHKGHe *patientiam* A
8, 2 *sunt*] BugHKGHe *sit* A *sint* A^{5}
11, 2 *custode*] BugHKGHe *custodem* A
13, 4 *qui*] BugHKGHe *quae* A
18, 2 *me*] BugHKGHe *te* A
21, 1 *putat*] BugHKGHe *putant* A
25, 1 *ad stipem*] BugHKGHe *adstipen* A
8 *quid*] BugHKGHe *quod* A
26, 3 *sapienti*] BugHKGA^{5} *sapientis* AHe
VIII 6, 4 *futura*] BugHKGHe *futurae* A
IX 1, 16 *blandientium*] BugHKGHe *blandentium* A
2, 12 *fessum*] BugHKGHe *fessus* A
3, 6 *eris*] BugHKGHe *erit* A
6, 4 *tam*] BugHKGHe *iam* A
8, 7 *mihi*] BugHKGHe *mi* A
10, 4 *quo*] BugHKGHe *qua* A
11, 6 *fieri*] BugHKGHe *si fieri* A
15, 3 *autem*] BugHKGHe *aut* A
17, 11 *instinctu*] BugHKGHe *instinctus* A
quo] BugHKGHe *quod* A
X 2, 3 *suis*] BugHKGHe *uis* A
3, 4 *concupiscitis*] BugHKGHe *concupiscetis* A
7, 10 *quid*] BugHKGHe *quod* A
10, 1 *cathedrariis*] BugHKGHe *cathredraris* A *cathedraris* He
15, 5 *legibus*] BugHKGHe *lesibus* A

XII 5, 1 *demittunt*] BugHKGHe *dimittunt* A
2, 2 *admovebo*] BugHKGHe *admonebo* A
5, 6 *existimavi*] BugHKGHe *estimaui* A
8, 1 *exilio*] BugHKGHe *exillo* A
10, 5 *faucium*] BugHKGHe *fauci* A
12, 1 *quo*] BugKGHe *quod* AH

Bridges is wrong in attributing to the Bacon MS the following readings of the old editions which have been accepted by recent editors:

I 4, 4 *tendat*] ugHKGHe. B, like A, has *tendit*
12 *patiamur*] ugHKGHe. B and A have *patimur*
II 5, 6 *Poliorcetes*] ugHKGHe *poli hercetes* A *poliercites* B
VI 11, 4 *familiaris aurae*] ugHKGHe. B agrees with the corrector of A and the dett. in reading *familiari aura*
VII 8, 3 *placita*] ugHKGHe *placida* AB
15, 4 *punctiunculas*] ugHKGHe *puncti ungulas* A *punctuculas* B
25, 2 *substernetur*] ugHKGHe *substernatur* A *obsternatur* B
VIII 6, 2 *imperfectum*] ugHKGHe *inter fectum* A *infectum* B
IX 3, 4 *urbanus*] ugHKGHe *urbanos* AB
8, 7 *Manen*] ugHKGHe *mathe* AB
Mane] ugHKGHe *mathe* AB
10, 5 *longinquam*] ugHGHe *longinqua* ABK
14, 1 *consilii* (or–*i*)] ug (*post Erasmum*) HKGHe *consilia* AB
X 2, 3 *in dispectum*] ugHKGHe *indespectum* A *in aspectum* B
fluctuantur] ugHKGHe *fluctuatur* A *fluctuum* B
3, 2 *te*] ugHKGHe *et* AB
XII 6, 4 *circumi*] ugHKGHe *circum* AB *circui* dett.
7, 2 *Pyrenaeus*] ugHKGHe *pyrenaeos* AB
9, 3 *dispensandorum*] ugHKGHe *despensandorum* A *dispensatorum* B
10, 5 *illis*] ugHKGHe *illi* AB

A fuller discussion of the Bacon MS is reserved for another occasion. Enough evidence has been given to show how utterly untrustworthy the text of Bridges is. He even attributes variants to B in his footnotes where there is absolutely no discrepancy between B and his own text.

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE MIRACLE PLAY

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Although it will be generally conceded that different groups of medieval miracle plays may have originated in somewhat differing ways, discussions of origins have gathered especially about the liturgical plays in honor of St. Nicholas.[1] This centering of interest arises naturally and justifiably from the fact that of the extant texts of miracle plays those that celebrate this saint are the oldest and the most numerous. Hence the plays of St. Nicholas occupy a central position in the most recent and incisive study of origins, by Professor G. R. Coffman in his monograph, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play*.[2]

The key to the solution of his problem Professor Coffman finds in a legend of St. Nicholas recorded by a monk of Bec in the twelfth century, of which the earliest known text is the following from a manuscript of the thirteenth century:[3]

Inter innumera virtutum insignia, quibus beatus Nicolaus inter spiritales patres velut inter astra fulgida caeli lucifer luminis singularis effulsit, nostris

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[1] In the following pages, I assume the following definition of the miracle play adopted from Professor Manly by Professor Coffman in his monograph mentioned below (p. 7): "The miracle play is the dramatization of a legend setting forth the life or the martyrdom or the miracles of a saint." For a list of the texts of the Latin miracle plays of St. Nicholas under discussion, see p. 8 of the same monograph.

[2] Menasha, 1914. This is a dissertation submitted for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. If in the following pages, I question the finality of certain of Professor Coffman's observations, I wish to declare that what I doubt in the monograph is slight in comparison with what I have learned from it.

[3] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 5284. This text, which I take from *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum . . . . qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi* (ed., Hagiographi Bollandiani), Brussels, I (1889), 510–11, is reprinted from the same edition by Coffman, pp. 54–55. A slightly longer version of this legend from a manuscript (Bib. Nat., MS Latin 5368) of the fourteenth century is given in *Catalogus*, Brussels, II (1890), 430–31, and is reprinted thence by Coffman, pp. 51–54. As the editors remark (*Catalogus*, II, 430, footnote), the version in the fourteenth-century manuscript may be earlier than that in the thirteenth-century manuscript; but this possibility has no bearing upon the present discussion. I regret, however, that limitations of space prevent my reprinting both versions of the legend.

quoque temporibus quantum sibi devote famulantibus favere, quantum suo famulatui obtrectantibus indignari consuevit, ostendere dignatus est. Qualiter autem res gesta contigerit, paucis explicare curabo. Cum nova sancti Nicolai historia de vita et miraculis ejus, scripta quidem per hominem sed homini divinitus inspirata, jam per totam paene latinitatem pro ejus dulcedinis immensitate in Christi ecclesiis longe lateque devotissime cantaretur in quadam cella quae Crux nominatur, sanctae Mariae de Caritate subjecta, pro pigritia habitantium necdum fuerat incohata. Tandem die una ejusdem loci seniores ante domnum Ytherium, suum videlicet priorem, pariter convenerunt, humiliter postulantes ut eis beati Nicolai psallendi responsoria licentiam daret. Ille vero eorum petitionibus nullatenus adquiescens, respondit omnino fore incongruum in tali negotio morem pristinum quibuslibet novitatibus immutandum. At illi patris duritiam contuentes, hujuscemodi coeperunt urgere sermonibus: *Cur, pater, audire filios contemnis? Cur, cum sancti Nicolai historia, spiritalis mellis dulcedine plena, tota jam paene orbe celebris* [*sit*], *non cantetur a nobis? Cur aliis in tanta sollemnitate epulantibus, nos a tam spiritualis convivii refectione pateris esse jejunos? Cur universis firme ecclesiis hac nova exultatione jubilantibus, haec sola modo muta silebit?* Cum his et similibus valde commotus prior, in tali fertur erupisse blasphemia: *Recedite, fratres: numquam enim vobis licentia a me concedetur ut relicto pristino usu nova saecularium cantica clericorum, immo jocularia quaedam, in ecclesia cui jubente Deo deservio ullatenus admittantur.* Quibus auditis, nimio pro sua repulsa rubore perfusi, reniti non valentes ulterius discipuli quieverunt, ac superveniente festivitate vespertinam matutinalemque synaxim, non sine quadam tristitia, veluti consueverant peregerunt. Peractis vero vigiliis, ad propria strata sunt quiescendi gratia regressi. Cumque prior se in lectulo sicut ceteri collocasset, ecce beatus Nicolaus ei visibiliter terribilis valde apparuit, ipsumque pro sua obstinatione atque superbia verbis severissimis increpavit, atque per capillos a lecto abstrahens, dormitorii pavimento collisit; incipiensque antiphonam *O pastor aeterne*, per singulas notae differentias virgis quas manu tenebat gravissimos ictus supra dorsum patientis ingeminans, per ordinem morose canendo ad finem usque perduxit. Is autem tantis flagris et tam insolita visione turbatus, clamare confusis vocibus coepit, quisque clamoribus ante se fratres protinus adunavit. Quem prostratum solo cernentes, quid viderit quidve passus fuerit sollicite requirebant. At ille, utpote amens effectus, nullum sciscitantibus valuit dare responsum. Sublatus autem fratrum manibus, in cellam infirmantium deportatur, multisque diebus correptus languore gravissimo custoditur. Ad postremum, divina miseratione et beati Nicolai interventione salvatus, congregatis fratribus ait: *Ecce, filii carissimi, quoniam vobis oboedire contempsi, duras pro cordis mei duritia poenas exsolvi. Amodo non solum quod petabatis grantanter annuo, verum quoad vixero ad canendam tanti patris historiam promptissimus atque paratissimus ero.*

Professor Coffman summarizes this legend thus:

> Some Cluniac monks at Crux, a subject monastery of St. Charitas in the Loire valley, on St. Nicholas' feast day ask permission of their prior to sing a new and popular history of that saint's life, but are denied the privilege by the prior because it is not the ecclesiastical chant, and because it is the facetious composition of secular clerks. As a punishment to this prior, St. Nicholas appears to him on the night following his refusal and compels him to learn an antiphon used in his feast day services, in one version *O Christi Pietas*, and in the other *O Pastor Aeterne*. When Gerard, the prior of St. Charitas, hears of this miracle, he orders the history sung in all the subject monasteries.[1]

"In this legend, I believe," continues Professor Coffman, "is the key to the solution of our problem, i.e., the origin of the *Miracle Play*."[2]

For our present purpose the chief significance of the legend lies in its testimony to the fact that at St. Charitas, and in many other places, the liturgy of the feast of St. Nicholas was, during the eleventh century,[3] embellished, or augmented, by the singing of what Professor Coffman calls "a new and popular history of that saint's life."[4] To these data drawn from the legend, Professor Coffman adds the general observation that during the period from which the legend is said to have arisen the liturgy of St. Nicholas was being embellished further by the introduction of hymns into the Canonical Office.[5] The "history," then, and these hymns are taken as the basis upon which the miracle play arose. The play, that is to say, came into being through the application of the dramatic method to the "history," the hymns showing their influence chiefly in matters of form. This process Professor Coffman describes thus:

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[1] Coffman, pp. 55–56. This summary is of course based upon both the thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century texts of the legend. The essentials, however, are present in the text of the thirteenth century which I reprint.

[2] Coffman, p. 56.

[3] Coffman shows (p. 56) that the events of the legend are recounted as occurring during the period 1056–87.

[4] This aspect of the legend Coffman emphasizes further (pp. 56–57) as follows: "We are here concerned with a history of the life and miracles of St. Nicholas which were not to be *read*, but *sung* for his feast day celebration. Thus we have here to do with *musical services*, an essential feature of our *Miracle Plays*. Then the objection of the prior to the request of the monks is that unecclesiastical additions, new and facetious songs of secular clerks, are being made to the regular services."

[5] See Coffman, pp. 43, 57.

> I hold that the St. Nicholas *Miracle Plays* originated in connection with musical services, during the latter part of the eleventh century as an unecclesiastical feature of his feast day celebration, and that they are indebted to the mediaeval Latin hymn for their form. The creative impulse characteristic of the mediaeval renaissance found expression in some individual who applied the dramatic method to a legend of this popular saint whose history had already been set to music. The result was our first *Miracle Play*.[1]

Although my brief sketch of Professor Coffman's argument represents very inadequately the learning and acumen of this central part of his monograph, I hope I have called attention to the main points. In any case, it is clear, I think, that in this new explanation of the origin of the miracle play much depends upon the nature of the *historia* over which the monks of Crux contended with their prior. Since Professor Coffman does not define the word closely, and cites no example, we are left with general descriptions such as "a history of the life and miracles of St. Nicholas," or "a new and popular history of that saint's life,"[2]—descriptions that seem to characterize *historia* as some sort of *vita* or *legenda*. This, I think, is not quite the meaning of *historia* in the legend before us.

Of the several more or less technical meanings given to the term *historia* in medieval liturgiology, I can discuss here only the use that applies to the case in hand.[3] *Historia* is the name given to the whole series of antiphons and responsories for the Canonical Office, or *cursus*, of a single day, especially when any, or all, of these musical pieces are given metrical form or are adorned with rhyme.[4] *Historia*, in other words, indicates the musical skeleton of the *cursus*, to the exclusion of the psalms and *lectiones*, the musical pieces being more or less versified. Father Dreves has presented the matter thus:

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[1] Coffman, p. 60. Coffman's final recapitulation is this (p. 66): "If, by way of summary, we reduce our problem to its simplest terms, we have the following: saints' feast day services centuries old, renaissance influences in the monasteries where a particular saint's cult was established, the history of his life set to music and hymns composed in his honor, the application of the dramatic method to these unecclesiastical features, and the instituting of a new literary fashion."

[2] Coffman, p. 56.

[3] The several liturgical uses of the term *historia* are discussed by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, XXX (1915), 97–99.

[4] Concerning these *historiae*, or rhymed offices, see *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, Leipzig, V (1889), 5–16; P. Wagner, *Origine et Développement du Chant liturgique* (trans. by Bour, Tournai, 1904), pp. 133, 294–312; S. Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire* (trans. by Biron, Paris, 1905), II, 73–86; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Strassburg, II (1902), Part I, 333–34.

> Das Reimofficium aber ist ein sorgfältig gegliedertes, in sich geschlossenes und abgerundetes Ganze, ein liturgisches Tages- und Stundengebet, in dem nicht nur die eingelegten Hymnen, sondern sämtliche Antiphonen und Responsorien, kurz alles, mit Ausnahme der Psalmen und Lektionen, in gebundener Rede, in Rhythmus und Reim gekleidet erscheint. Der mittelalterliche Kunstausdruck für ein solches Officium mit Ausschluss der Psalmen und Lektionen—also für alle jene Teile des Officiums, welche gesungen, nicht recitiert werden und daher in das Antiphonar gehören, war "*Historia*." Derselbe findet sich in tausend und abertausend Rubriken, wie: Istam *historiam* compilavit magister N.; hodie imponatur *historia* de sancto N.; incipit nova *historia* de sancta N., lauter Redewendungen, die nicht von einer Vita oder Legenda, auch nicht von den erzählenden Lektionen der 2. Nokturn zu verstehen sind, sondern nichts anders besagen wollen, als was wir heute mit dem Worte Officium zu bezeichnen pflegen.[1]

From the tenth century onward, *historiae* of this sort were composed in very large numbers,[2] especially for honoring particular saints or patrons.[3] Naturally enough the various *historiae* differ among themselves as to the completeness with which the process of versification is carried through the series of antiphons and responsories. Sometimes only parts of a few responsories are versified, whereas again every musical piece in the *cursus* is adorned with regular rhythm and rhyme.[4] The *historiae* reached their full development during the period from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth,[5] although the extant versions that are fully developed are found especially in manuscripts ranging in date between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[6]

For our present study, then, it seems desirable that we scrutinize an *historia* composed for the *cursus* of the feast of St. Nicholas; and since the relevant texts published hitherto are either incomplete or of late date,[7] I offer the complete *cursus* from a manuscript of the latter part of the eleventh century from the monastery of St. Maur-des-Fossés:[1]

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[1] *Analecta Hymnica*, V, 6. The italics are mine.

[2] Some ten volumes of *Analecta Hymnica* (Vols. V, XIII, XVII, XVIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, and XLV*a*) are devoted to *historiae*.

[3] See Wagner, p. 295.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 297–300.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[6] See Bäumer, II, 74–75.

[7] Unfortunately very few of the *historiae* in the immense collections in *Analecta Hymnica* are connected with St. Nicholas, and the only version that covers the entire *cursus* is from a manuscript of the sixteenth century (see *Analecta Hymnia*, XLV*a*, 160–63).

<HISTORIA DE SANCTO NICHOLAO>

IN NATALE SANCTI NICHOLAI

<AD VESPERAS>

<IN EUANGELIO ANTIPHONA>:

O pastor aeterne, o clemens *et* bone custos, qui, dum deuoti gregis preces adtenderes, voce lapsa de celo presuli sanctissimo dignum episcopatu Nicholaum ostendisti tuum famulum.

<AD MATUTINUM>

INUIT*atorium:*

Adoremus regem seculorum in quo uiuit Nicholaus, honor sacerdotum.

P*salmus:*

Venite, exultemus.

IN PRIMO NOCTURNO

A*ntiphona:*

Nobilissimis siquidem natalibus ortus velud lucifer Nicholaus emicuit.

A*ntiphona:*

Hic dum matris adhuc lacte nutriretur, quarta *et* sexta feria semel in die papillas suggebat.

A*ntiphona:*

Iam decus lactentium Nicholaus mirabili portendebat auspitio sancte parsimonie tempus.

A*ntiphona:*

Postquam domi puerilem decurrit aetatem, cunctis mundi huius spretis oblectationibus, Christi[2] se iugo subiciens[3] documentis sanctis suum prebuit auditum.

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[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 12584, Graduale et Liber Responsalis Monasterii Sancti Mauri Fossatensis saec. xi ex., fol. 383ᵛ–385ᵛ. The text that I print is furnished with musical notation in neumes. The official description of the whole manuscript is as follows (L. Delisle, *Inventaire des Manuscrits de St. Germain-des-Prés conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les Numéros* 11504–14231 *du fonds latin,* Paris, 1868, p. 58): "I. Martyrologe d' Usuard et Règle de S. Benoit. xivᵉ s. II. Graduel et Antiphonaire notés en neumes. xiiᵉ s. Peintures." It will be observed that Delisle assigns the part of the manuscript with which we are concerned to the twelfth century. In assigning it to the end of the eleventh century, I avail myself of the opinion of my friend, Dom G. M. Beyssac, O.S.B., who, as in innumerable earlier instances, has aided me most generously in my present study. The same *historia,* with no significant verbal differences, but with the addition of *incipits* for the psalms, is found in Bib. Nat., MS Latin 12044, Liber Responsalis Monasterii Sancti Mauri Fossatensis saec. xii, fol. 221ᵛ–224ᵛ. In the text that I offer from MS 12584, the presence of *twelve* responsories for Matins indicates monastic use.

[2] MS Xpisti.

[3] MS subitiens.

Antifona:[1]

Ad quantam uero messem diuina conualuerunt in eo semina sequentia pietatis opera p*ro*fitentur.

A*ntiphona:*

Pudore bono repletus Dei famulus sumptibus datis stupri nefas prohibuit.

Resp*onsorium:*

Confessor Dei Nicholaus, nobilis p*ro*genie sed nobilior moribus, ab ipso puerili euo secutus Dominum, meruit diuina reuelatione ad summum prouehi sacerdotium. <Versus>[2]: Erat enim ualde compatiens *et* super aflictos pia gestans uiscera. Ab ipso puerili.

R*esponsorium:*

Dum uero adhuc pender*et* ad ubera matris, o noua res, quarta feria *et* sexta semel in die papillas bibebat. V*ersus:* Iam quodam modo sacri ieiunii se futurum presignans amatorem Nicholaus. O noua· <fol. 384^r>

<Responsorium>[3]:

Quantam denique messem in eo diuina semina creauerunt innumera pietatis officia quibus cotidie strenuus insudabat preconantur. V*ersus:* Transitoriam felicitatem quanti pender*et* *et* celestis regni gloriam. Innu<mera>.

R*esponsorium:*

Operibus sanctis Nicholaus humiliter insistens reuelatione diuina p*ro*uectus est ad summum sacerdotii gradum. V*ersus:* Voce quippe de celo lapsa cuidam insinuatur presuli dignum episcopatu Nicholaum. Ad summum.

In Sec*und*o Noct*ur*no

A*ntiphona:*

Auro uirginum incestus, auro patris earum inopiam, auro prorsus utrorumque detestabilem infamiam Dei seruus ademit Nicholaus.

A*ntiphona:*

Innocenter puerilia iura transscendens euangelice institutionis discipulus effectus est.

A*ntiphona:*

Gloriam mundi spreuit cu*m* suis oblectacionibus *et* ideo meruit prouehi ad summum sacerdotii gradum.

A*ntiphona:*

Pontifices almi diuina reuelatione letificati Nicholaum presulem deuotissime consecrauerunt.

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[1] MS ANTF.

[2] The manuscript leaves space for the rubric, but none can be read.

[3] The rubric is illegible.

A*ntiphona:*

Sanctus quidem triticum quod a nautis postulaverat acceptum *et* sagacitate distribuere *et* augere precibus impetrauit.

A*ntiphona:*

Muneribus datis neci sunt iuuenes innocentes addicti, quibus Domini seruus fuit uite presidium festinanter.

R*esponsorium:*

Quadam die tempestate seuissima quassati, naute ceperunt sanctum uocare Nicholaum, *et* statim cessauit tempestas. V*ersus:* Mox illis clamantibus apparuit quidam dicens illis: Ecce adsum; quid uocastis me? <fol. 384ᵛ> *Et* statim.

R*esponsorium:*

Audiens Christi[1] confessor trium iuuenum innocentum necem, precucurrit quantocius ad locum quo fuerant plectendi, *et* liberauit eos. V*ersus:* Statimque solutos a uinculis usque ad pretorium consulis secum adduxit. *Et* liberauit.

R*esponsorium:*

Qui cum audissent sancti Nicholai nomen, statim expandunt manus utrasque ad celum saluatoris laudantes clementiam. V*ersus:* Clara quippe uoce coram hominibus dignum referebant illum Dei famulum. Saluatoris.

R*eponsorium:*

Beatus Nicholaus iam triumpho potitus nouit suis famulis prebere celestia commoda qui toto corde poscunt eius largitiones; illi nimirum tota nos deuotione oport*et* committere. V*ersus:* Vt apud Christum[2] eius patrociniis aduiuemur semper. Illi nimirum.

<In Tertio Nocturno>

Ad Cantica <Antiphona>:

Decantande speciosis, Nicholae, canticis,
Laudes tibi persoluisse fac sit nobis utile.

Ps*almus:*

Beatus uir qui in sa<pientia>[3].

R*esponsorium:*

Summe Dei confessor, Nicholae, te uenerantes protege, namque credimus tuis precibus nos posse saluari. V*ersus:* Qui tres pueros morti addictos illesos abire fecisti tuis laudibus, instantem conserua plebem. Namque credimus.

<Responsorium>:[4]

Seruus Dei Nicholaus auri pondo trium uirginum redemit pudorem, earumque patris impudicam remenso auro fugauit inopiam. <fol. 385ʳ>

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[1] MS Xpisti.

[2] MS Xpistum.

[3] For the *incipit* of this psalm the manuscript provides no musical notation.

[4] This rubric is illegible.

<VERSUS>:[1] Affluens itaque misericordie uisceribus metallo duplicato *pro*pulsauit earum infamiam. Earumque.

<RESPONSORIUM>:[2]

Magne pater, Nicholae, summo Patri *prox*ime,
Admiranda qua precellis apud eum gratia
A commissis nos emundans, ne cadamus, sustine.

<VERSUS>:[3]

Iam per terras *et* per mare fama celeberrime
Refouendo tribulatos, releuando naufragos.
A commissis.

R*esponsorium:*

Ex eius tumba marmorea sacrum resudat oleum quo liniti sanantur ceci, surdis auditus redditur, *et* debilis quisque sospes regreditur. V*ersus:* Cateruatim ruunt populi cernere cupientes que per eum fiunt mirabilia. Surdis.

<PROSA>:[4]

Sospes nunc efficitur, Nicholae famulans Domino,
Et qui tuo deuote desiderat obtentu saluari.
Sospes.[4]

IN MATUTINIS[5] LAUDIBUS

<ANTIPHONA>:[6]

Beatus Nicholaus adhuc puerulus multo ieiunio macerabat corpus.

A*ntiphona:*

Ecclesie[7] sancte frequentans limina sacra pectori condebat mandata.

<ANTIPHONA>:[8]

Iuste *et* sancte uiuendo ad honorem sacerdotii meruit *pro*moueri diuinitus.

A*ntiphona:*

Amicus Dei Nicholaus, pontificali decoratus infula, omnibus se amabilem exibuit.

A*ntiphona:*

O per omnia laudabilem uirum, cuius meritis ab omni clade liberantur quiex toto corde querunt illum.

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[1] This rubric is illegible.

[2] This rubric is illegible.

[3] This rubric is illegible.

[4]–[4] This prose attached to the twelfth responsory (*Ex eius*) is written in the right margin of the manuscript, and is, in part, illegible. The full text is easily recoverable from MS 12044, fol. 224ʳ, where it occupies its normal place in the text. The longer alternative prose (*Sospitati reddit*) for the same responsory (*Ex eius*) is found, out of its normal position, below. The last word *Sospes* is not part of the *prosa*, but indicates merely a repetition of part of the responsory (*Ex eius*) to which the *prosa* is attached.

[5] In the manuscript this word is not completely legible.

[6] This rubric is illegible.

[7] MS Aeclesie.

[8] This rubric is illegible.

IN EUANGELIO <ANTIPHONA>:

Copiose karitatis Nicholae pontifex,
Qui cum Deo gloriaris in celi palatio,
Condescende, supplicamus, ad te suspirantibus,
Ut exutos graui carne pertrahas ad superos.

AD VESPERAS[1]

ANTIPHONA:

O Christi[2] pietas omni prosequenda laude, qui sui <fol. 385^{v}> famuli Nicholai merita longe lateque declarat, nam ex tumba eius oleum manat, cunctosque languidos sanat.

[3]I*tem* DE S*ancto* NICHOLAO XII R*esponsorium:*

Ex eius tumba.

PROSA:

Sospitati reddit egros olei perfusio
Nicholaus naufragantum affuit presidio.
Releuatur a defunctis defunctus in biuio.
Baptizatur auri uiso Iudeus indicio.
Vas in mare mersum patri redditur cum filio.
O quam sanctum Dei probat farris augmentatio.
Laudans ergo Nicholaum concinat hec concio,
Nam qui corde querit illum propulsato uitio.
Sospes regreditur.[4]

This text clearly reveals its general conformity to the definition of *historia* given above. We have before us the outline of a special form of *cursus* composed for the *festum* of St. Nicholas, in which the antiphons and responsories are proper to him, and reflect, in their content, a considerable number of his legends, and in which some of these antiphons and responsories are versified or troped. The versifying and troping, however, are far from complete, being confined to the third Nocturn of Matins and to Lauds. The only antiphons in metrical form are the one for the canticles (*Decantande speciosis*) of the third nocturn, and the one for the *Benedictus* of Lauds (*Copiose karitatis*). The only responsories with special formal characteristics are the last two, the eleventh and twelfth. The eleventh (*Magne pater*) is versified throughout. The twelfth (*Ex eius tumba*) is not itself versified, but to it are attached alternative tropes, the first being a non-metrical *prosa* (*Sosper nunc*), and the other, a *prosa* (*Sospitati reddit*) of eight lines rhymed. The meter of all the versified parts is trochaic tetrameter catalectic—a verse form introduced into hymnology by Venantius Fortunatus in the sixth century, and well known through his hymn *Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis.*[1]

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[1] MS Ad Vesperos. The spelling *Vesperos* is not an error of the copyist, since it is normal in this manuscript, and in many other manuscripts. I change the text merely for convenience.

[2] MS Xpisti.

[3] The passage from here to the end of my text, written in a different hand of the same period, provides, out of position, an alternative prose for the twelfth responsory (*Ex eius*) of Matins.

[4] The words *Sospes regreditur* are not part of the *prosa*, but indicate merely a repetition of part of the responsory *Ex eius tumba*, to which the *prosa* is attached. The full text of this responsory, with another and shorter prose (*Sospes nunc efficitur*) attached, is found in the text above. The complete text of the *historia* of St. Nicholas as now printed is followed in the manuscript by the rubric *De omnibus sanctis*, introducing irrelevant matter.

That the legend written by the monk of Bec, with which we began, concerns a *historia* of this general sort appears with increasing clearness as we examine the details of the monk's narrative. The *nova sancti Nicolai historia de vita et miraculis ejus* which the insurgent members of Ytherius' cell wished to sing was not a narrative *vita* of the saint, for they specify their desire to sing *responsoria* proper to St. Nicholas—*postulantes ut eis beati Nicolai psallendi responsoria licentiam daret.* Possibly in their request the suppliants included only *responsoria;* but the general use of the term *historia* suggests that they had in mind the entire musical framework of the *cursus,* including the *antiphonae.*[2] Whether the *responsoria* and *antiphonae* of the desired *historia* were versified or not, we cannot tell; but I surmise that in mentioning *nova saecularium cantica clericorum,*

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[1] See W. A. Merrill, *Latin Hymns*, Boston, 1904, pp. 18–19. As Wagner shows (pp. 297–300), the influence of hymns upon *historiae* was considerable as early as the end of the tenth century. Thus, for example, one or more verses were sometimes extracted from established hymns and made to serve as parts, or wholes, of responsories —a facile method for embellishing and disturbing the liturgical text. It may be that certain of the verses in the *historia* printed above are borrowed from hymns not sufficiently familiar to me.

[2] I infer that the antiphon *O pastor aeterne*, which St. Nicholas forced the recalcitrant prior to learn, was from the *historia* of St. Nicholas which the prior had rejected. Certainly the prior seems to be unfamiliar with it! The same may be said of the antiphon *O Christi Pietas* in the longer version of the legend (see Coffman, p. 52). If my inference is allowed, the punishment inflicted upon the prior has more point, and there arises additional probability that the *historia* of the legend was of the type seen above, from St. Maur-des-Fossés. In the new text offered here, both of these non-metrical antiphons are present.

immo jocularia quaedam, the skeptical prior may have been referring contemptuously, and extravagantly, to such metrical compositions as we have before us in the *historia* from St. Maur-des-Fossés.

But waiving such conjectures as to detail, we may now, I think, more confidently interpret Professor Coffman's explanation of the origin of the miracle play. Speaking of "the history of his [Nicholas'] life set to music and hymns composed in his honor," Professor Coffman, as we have seen, conceives of the miracle play as having arisen through "the application of the dramatic method to these unecclesiastical features."[1] The essence of this conception, as I understand it, is that the *historia* was dramatized into a play, or into plays, the hymns affecting the metrical form of the product. In view of what I have shown above as to the nature of the *historia,* however, I cannot persuade myself that Professor Coffman's explanation is final. There may have been *historiae* to which the dramatic method could be applied with some direct result in the way of drama; but as yet we know of no such promising versions. I infer that my text from St. Maur-des-Fossés furnishes a reasonably representative example of *historia,* and I do not observe that it lends itself readily to dramatic treatment. In general, it fails to provide even the *material* of the legends, and still more completely does it fail in providing anything approaching *dramatic form.* The single antiphon or responsory is usually too short to do more than merely mention a legend; and in the series of antiphons and responsories there is no attempt to carry from one musical piece into another an orderly narrative account.[2] One of the responsories (*Quadam die*), to be sure, offers a bit of direct discourse which might have found a place in a play; but we have no dramatic treatment of the legend concerned, and in any case the brief utterance in question was readily accessible in the traditional narrative *legenda,*[3] without reference to the liturgy.

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[1] Coffman, p. 66.

[2] Dreves observes (*Analecta Hymnica,* V, 6) that this lack of narrative continuity is characteristic of *historiae* as a class. One may add that the hymns of St. Nicholas often follow the general sequence of the *Vita* in a more orderly way; but concerning a single legend, or incident, they usually provide only a line or two of reference, not a detailed account.

[3] See, for example, Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum,* Paris, 1910, II, 300. For a similar bit of direct discourse in a hymn of St. Nicholas at least as old as the eleventh century, see *Analecta Hymnica,* LIV, 95–96.

Although, then, I see, as yet, no evidence for establishing any strict evolutional relationship between the extant plays of St. Nicholas and the sort of *historia* that the monk of Bec mentions, I would not overlook the striking fact that the texts themselves of several of these plays declare that the plays were actually sung in close attachment to the *historia* of the saint's feast. Thus, for example, the so-called dowry play, from Fleury, ends with the singing of the antiphon *O Christi pietas*,[1] which, as we have seen above, is an antiphon for the second Vespers of St. Nicholas; and the play *Filius Getronis* ends with the *Copiose caritatis*,[2] which may be seen above as a metrical antiphon for the *Benedictus* in Lauds. The presumption is that the plays ending with these liturgical pieces were actually performed in the midst of the *cursus*, at the points where the liturgical pieces regularly occur, especially since similar plays are known to have taken similar liturgical positions.[3] Undeniably such juxtapositions between the *historia* of a saint and plays concerning him tempt us strongly to conjecture intermediate forms of *historiae*, which might provide more solid and material origins for the plays than do the *historiae* that have been preserved. But we must resist conjecture, and must admit that as far as we now know, the *historia* provided for the miracle play only a general encouragement to metrical and musical endeavor, and, when the play was accomplished, a place of attachment to the liturgy.

For the *content* and *dramatic form* of the plays of St. Nicholas, then, we must seek elsewhere than in the sort of *historia* that I have been considering, since the antiphons and responsories of the *cursus* provide neither the story nor the required dialogue form. And the same deficiencies are to be observed in the hymns composed for this saint. A mere glance at these plays, indeed, discloses the fact that they rest upon the narratives of the traditional legends. In general, the plays reproduce with substantial fidelity the events in the parts of the accepted *legenda* which they treat. The circumstances under which the legends reached the dramatist need not be a consideration of great importance. In any case, we have no precise and sound information as to what these circumstances were. The playwright might have heard them read as *lectiones* in Matins, or as less formal recitations in the monastic office of Prime.[1] He may have read the whole *Vita* for himself privately, or, as a schoolboy, he may have been assigned this or that prose legend for versifying.[2]

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[1] See E. de Coussemaker, *Dramas liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Rennes, 1860, p. 99. For the same antiphon at the end of the play *Tres Clerici* from Hildesheim, see *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXV (1891), 407.

[2] See Coussemaker, p. 142.

[3] The *Suscitacio Lazari* of Hilarius seems certainly to have been performed as part of Matins or of Vespers (see J. J. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii Versus et Ludi*, Paris, 1838, p. 33); and the liturgical positions of the plays of Easter and Christmas are a commonplace of dramatic history.

To account for the fact that the plays are in verse and are set to music, we need only refer to the general activity of the monasteries of Western Europe, during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, in composing thousands of rhythmical and versified musical pieces for the unofficial embellishment of their daily liturgy,[3] and in giving verse form to the *vitae* of patron saints. About the year 1100, Raoul Tortaire was teaching versification to novices in the monastery of St. Benoit-sur-Loire, at Fleury, and was himself putting into verse the legends of St. Benedict and St. Maur.[4] Naturally enough, then, at this same monastery about the same period, or soon after, the adornment of verse was bestowed also upon the legends of St. Nicholas—such verse as is seen in the St. Nicholas plays in the familiar Fleury manuscript of the twelfth century.[5]

Nor is there anything mystifying in the fact that versified legends of St. Nicholas were put into *dramatic* form and were *sung* in some sort of attachment to the liturgy. The model was present in the widely known liturgical plays of the Easter and Christmas seasons.

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[1] See C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881, pp. xiii–xxiii.

[2] Concerning such exercises of schoolboys see F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 1885, p. 113; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Strassburg, II (1902), Part I, p. 395. O. Weydig, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mirakelspiels in Frankreich*, Erfurt, 1910, pp. 44–46, seems to assert with confidence that the earliest St. Nicholas plays were school exercises; but Coffman, although admitting this possibility (pp. 17–19), justly observes that Weydig's assertion has not been proved.

[3] See Coffman's excellent survey of this matter (pp. 38–44).

[4] See E. de Certain, *Raoul Tortaire*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XVI (1855), 495–98; *Les Miracles de Saint Benoit* (ed., E. Certain, Paris, 1858), p. xv.

[5] For descriptions of this famous manuscript, see C. Cuissard, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Departments*, Paris, XII (1889), 108–9; Coussemaker, pp. 326–28.

The process through which the miracle play developed was to be sure different from that traceable in the development of the other plays. Between the Easter and Christmas stories of the Bible and the finished and versified dramatic treatments of these stories, we have abundant evidence of a gradual growth through dramatic tropes and antiphonal accretions. The extant plays of St. Nicholas, on the other hand, seem to have arisen through a single effort: the application of metrical, musical, and dramatic form directly to the traditional legends.

A NOTE CONCERNING THE CULT OF ST. NICHOLAS AT HILDESHEIM

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Students of the medieval drama have long accepted as the earliest St. Nicholas miracle plays the two preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript from Hildesheim.[1] But they have presented no immediate reason for the existence there of the cult of this very popular medieval saint. It is the purpose of this brief paper to show that there was a most logical reason for the cult of St. Nicholas at this place in the earlier part of the eleventh century, and a logical reason, also, for the existence of the plays there.

During the period in question, Hildesheim was the center of a very important diocese in lower Saxony. Its bishops during the tenth and eleventh centuries contended successfully against the archbishops of Mayence for the rich monastery of Gandersheim, the home of Hrotsvitha.[2] Under Bishops Bernward (993–1022),[3]

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[1] British Museum, additional MS 22414. Text with introduction and notes by Ernst Dümmler, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alt.*, XXXV (1891), 401–7. Relative to the priority of these plays from Hildesheim, compared with those from other manuscripts treating the same subjects (the dowry and the scholars' legends) see Otto Weydig, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mirakelspiels in Frankreich. Das Nikolausmirakel* (Jena Diss., Erfurt, 1910), pp. 55 ff., and 66 ff.; and George R. Coffman, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (Univ. of Chicago Diss., Menasha, Wis., 1914), pp. 61 ff.

[2] See for a historical survey of this in detail "Wolfherii Vita Godehardi Episcopi—Vita Prior" in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, XI, 180–94. For brief summary see also Gisebrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, II (1885), 256–57, and *The Cambridge Medieval History*, III (1922), 255–56.

[3] "Vita Bernwardi Episcopi in Hildesheimensis" in *Mon. Ger. Hist., Scriptores*, IV, 760: "Arduum et difficile est cottidianum eius studium verbis perstringere, quia Deo teste omni nisu inter diem noctemque in divinis perstabat. Nichilominus quoque cunctos sibi adhaerentes ad huiusmodi negocium, ut ita dicam, ultra vires impellebat, nec aliquid artis erat, quod non attemptaret, etiam si ad unguem pertingere non valeret. Scriptoria namque non in monasterio tantum, sed in diversis locis studebat, unde et copiosam bibliothecam tam divinorum quam philosophicorum codicum comparavit. Picturam vero et sculpturam et fabrilem atque clusoriam artem, et quicquid elegantius in huiusmodi arte excogitare poterat, numquam neglectum patiebatur, adeo ut ex transmarinis et ex scottis vasis, quae regali maiestati singulari dono deferebantur, quicquid rarum vel eximium reperiret, incultum transire non sineret. Ingeniosos namque pueros et eximiae indolis secum vel ad curtem ducebat vel quocumque longius commeabat, quos, quicquid dignius in ulla arte occurrebat, ad exercitum impellebat."

Godehard (1022–38), and Hezilo (1054–79),[1] Hildesheim was a great cultural center. In 1006, Bernward established direct connections with France, the Renaissance center of the period, through his pilgrimage to St. Martin of Tours and St. Denis of Paris, and brought back with him to Hildesheim relics of these saints.[2] And Hezilo completed his education in French schools.[3] All three bishops were zealous in increasing the library and the ecclesiastical adornments at Hildesheim and in developing humanistic studies in their schools.[4] In fact, here at Hildesheim was one of the most famous schools of all Germany during that period.[5] Here, among others, Emperor Henry II (1002–24), canonized in 1146, received his early training.[6]

But the individual of immediate interest for our present purpose is Bishop Godehard. In view of this fact, a résumé of his activities is pertinent here.[7] Godehard was born about the year 960 in upper Bavaria. He received his training principally in the Abbey of Altaich, of which monastery he became prior shortly after he entered the Benedictine order in 991. Because of his rigor in enforcing higher standards of living and stricter adherence to the rules of monastic life among the members of the order, he was appointed by Emperor Henry II to carry out these same reforms in the Abbeys of Hershfeld, Tegernsee, and other places.[8] Shortly preceding 1021 he had retired to Altaich to spend the remainder of his days in study and religious life.[1] But on the death of Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, he was chosen to succeed him, and accepted the position reluctantly only as a result of the urging of the Emperor Henry II. He remained bishop there until his death in 1038.

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[1] I take this opportunity to correct an error in my monograph, *A New Theory*, p. 40. I state that, "After he [Hezilo] had completed his studies in France and taken charge of the *monastery* at Hildesheim, he assumed charge of the instruction in the school there." Now Hildesheim was the center of a bishopric, not the home of a monastery. So at Hildesheim he had charge of a *cathedral school*. For medieval meanings of *coenobium* and *monasterium*, generally accepted words for monastery, but sometimes employed for *cathedral church*, see gloss under p. 272, n. 2, below.

[2] "Vita Bernwardi Episcopi Hildesheimensis" in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, IV, 775–76.

[3] Th. Lindner, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XII, 323.

[4] "Vita Bernwardi," *op. cit.*, p. 760 (see note); "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, pp. 202–3 and 206; and Lindner, *op. cit.*

[5] Heinrich Gerdes, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit*, II (1908), 637.

[6] *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 218.

[7] "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, and *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI (1909), 621.

[8] It is important to bear in mind that although these reforms were in Benedictine monasteries, the initial impulse to such reforms came from the Cluniacs and France. See *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 236. Also for excellent and more extensive review see James Westfall Thompson, *Church and State in Medieval Germany* in the *American Journal of Theology*, XXII, 395 ff. It is a pleasure to record here my constant indebtedness to Professor Thompson in this study as well as in others in the medieval field.

Wolfherius, his biographer, who had known him at Altaich and who wrote an earlier ("Vita Prior") and a later ("Vita Posterior") story of his life between the years 1038 and 1054,[2] emphasizes some aspects and interests of his life which are of special significance for us. He tells us that at Altaich, where Godehard was a pupil of Oudalgisus, the future bishop always enjoyed devoting to the study of reading, singing, and writing, the time which the other boys of the school spent in the pleasures of horses, trapping, and fine clothing.[3] During his youth, also, he continued his interest *in arte scribendi* and thus collected a considerable library. And of these books, Godehard arranged or edited one which Wolfherius tells us, when he wrote, was still used at Altaich for the musical services and the readings of the ecclesiastical year (*per anni circulum cantandi legendique*).[4] His biographer also emphasizes that, preceding 1022, just before he left Altaich to become bishop at Hildesheim, he was most notable for fostering studies and encouraging students.[1] This same interest he transferred to the promising boys of the cathedral school at Hildesheim, appointing them for various services about the school and the church.[2]

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[1] "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, pp. 202-3: "Beatus itaque Godehardus episcopus, senio et labore iam fessus et etiam taedio saecularis curae repletus annuente rege Herveldense regimen illustri viro Arnoldo suo prius eo loci praeposito, et Burchardo, aeque venerabili suo primicerio Tegarense commendavit; sicque ad Altaha remeavit, ubi si Deo tantum placuerit, in finem vitae suae in debito ceptae religionis studio perseverare decrevit. Idem enim monasterium omni devotione, ut vel hodie ibi liquet adornare studebat, libris scilicet et preciosissimis missalibus, vestimentis caeterisque variis et utilibus ecclesiasticis ornamentis. Maxime tamen, quod et ubique notissimum est, plurimos in eodem coenobio fratres, scientia et moribus illustres, enutrivit; quos postea inter diversa monasteria patres et doctores, regis ac episcoporum petitione, dispertivit."

[2] *Ibid.*, XI, 167 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 171: "Totum enim studium quod caeteri, ut id iuventutis genus assolet, in equorum falerumque praeciosarum quoque vestium superfluitate pueriliter consumpserant, ipse semper legendo, cantando scribendove divinae servitutis cultui mancipare malebat." The most probable meaning of *scribendo* in this and other passages quoted in this paper, as Professors Beeson and Young inform me, seems to be *copying*, or *writing with a pen*, though another reputable Latin scholar calls my attention to the fact that in classical Latin, at least, the term had fully as general a meaning as our modern word "writing."

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 172: "Quamvis enim in omni ecclesiasticae utilitatis studio semper fuisset devotus, in scribendi tamen arte praecipue erat studiosus. Ergo in ipsa pueritia numerosam librorum tam divini dogmatis, quam et philosophicae dulcedinis congeriem coacervavit, inter quos tamen bibliothecam quae hodie in eodem monasterio habetur mirae pulchraeque quantitatis sed maioris per anni circulum cantandi legendique utilitatis, non solum scribendo verum etiam gratia humilitatis propriis manibus pergamenum ac cetera necessaria elaborando ordinavit."

And, finally, Wolfherius tells us that Nicholas was Bishop Godehard's patron saint. The passage in which he records this fact occurs pretty well toward the close of the biography. The writer in recounting the virtues of Godehard emphasizes his kindness and generosity toward delinquents. To illustrate these traits in the former bishop of Hildesheim, he recalls the very popular legend of the dowry for the three daughters as recorded in the life of St. Nicholas, employed in the liturgical services of his feast day, and dramatized in plays in his honor. He writes that Godehard acted in accordance with the custom and example of his patron saint, Bishop Nicholas, who with the gold for dowry prevented the incest of the virgins, saved the father from want, and kept the entire family from abominable infamy. The passage is of so great importance for our purpose that I quote it here:

> Sed et super delinquentes et noxios mira erat miseratione mitis et placabilis, ita ut si quilibet talium confessionis et poenitentiae gratia ad eum confugerent, et delicta eis prompta clementia statim indulserit, et vigilanti cura eis, ne ulterius in talia necessitatis causa inciderent, omnem sufficientiam in posterum providerit, more quidem et exemplo sancti sui patroni Nycolai episcopi, qui elemosinarum auro et virginum incestus et patris earum inopiam et totius familiae detestabilem ademit infamiam, et quorumlibet pauperum ad se quoquo modo pertinentium pia clementia sedavit indegentiam. Huius inquam exemplo praesul noster satagebat inopes ubique semper consolari;

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 202–3; see n. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 206: "Coenobium suum pastorali cura sapienter gubernavit, et fratrum commoda in victu et vestitu caeterisque indigentiae humanae necessariis saepius adauxit; quos etiam ad sacrae religionis observantiam apostolice arguendo et obsecrando multipliciterque informando conduxit. Iuvenes quoque et pueros quos inibi bonae indolis et sapidos invenit, per diversa scolarum studia circumquaque dispertivit; quorum certe postea servimine variam ac multiplicem suae ecclesiae utilitatem in lectione scriptura et pictura ac plurali honestiori clericalis officii disciplina conquisivit." One of the meanings of *coenobium* in medieval Latin is pertinent here. See Maigne D'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Paris, 1890: "*Coenobium*—Ecclesia cathedralis; *église cathédrale*." This same specialized meaning applies to *monasterium*. *Ibid.*: "*Monasterium* interdum dicitur; 1° Ecclesia quaevis, praesertim vero ecclesia cathedralis; église, église cathédrale."

cui et cordi erat cum talibus colloqui, cum eis ludificando et etiam convivando iocundari.[1]

This quotation brings us to a convenient place at which to pause and summarize the significant facts thus far presented:

1. Hildesheim during the eleventh century was an important ecclesiastical, educational, and cultural center and was in direct connection with France, the great fountain head of the medieval Renaissance.
2. Bishop Godehard himself was a humanist interested in drawing, in music, in reading, in *scribendo*, and in other academic arts—first in the monasteries over which he had supervision, and later in his cathedral school.
3. We have the definite statement of Wolfherius, Godehard's friend and biographer, that St. Nicholas was his patron saint.[2]

All the facts here presented certainly indicate favorable conditions and a most essential reason for the existence at Hildesheim of a center for the honor and the worship of St. Nicholas.

The essential connection between these facts and certain facts in relation to the Hildesheim manuscript, containing the St. Nicholas plays, becomes evident on analysis.

In the first place, bearing in mind that St. Nicholas was the patron saint of Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, it is important to observe that the manuscript[3] contains a St. Nicholas *dowry* play, a dramatization of the same legend as was used by Godehard's biographer in illustrating the virtues of the former bishop. In the second place, the title-page of the manuscript indicates that it was Godehard's own book, *the book of St. Godehard* (*Liber Sancti Godehardi*). I realize when I make this statement that Godehard was not officially canonized until the twelfth century (1131). So the most logical assumption is that this inscription was added after 1131. There is of course the other possibility that after his death and before he was officially canonized, he may have been recognized as a saint in his own locality.[1] Under any circumstances, one fact is certain. Godehard the bishop did not write it. At least we have never heard that men gave themselves the title "Sanctus." So, interesting as this problem of the inscription is, though its solution would be helpful, it is not the important thing here. The essential fact is that the contributing evidence from both sides makes it logical for us to expect to find this manuscript associated with Godehard.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 207–8.

[2] I shall return in a moment to the legends of St. Nicholas which Wolfherius summarizes. Here, I mention in connection with Godehard a related fact which may have been only a coincidence. He was consecrated bishop of Hildesheim on December 5; "Vita Godehardi," *op. cit.*, p. 206: "Beatus igitur Godehardus pontificatus infulis decoratus, Nonis Decembris Hildinesheim advenit, omnesque in suo adventu vere gratulantes invenit." It is significant that the close of this day would include the vigils of St. Nicholas' feast day, which is December 6.

[3] The complete statement of the cataloguer—see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV–MDCCCLX* (1875), p. 643—reads:

"22,414 Notulæ de Abaco, *etc:*—

1 Præscripta medicinalia, f. 1.

2 Colloquium metricum inter patrem et filias ejus. It begins, 'Cara mihi pignora filie,' and ends with a legend of St. Nicholas, f. 3 b.

3 'Notule de abaco,' f. 4 b.

4 Praescripta duo medicinalia, f. 8 b.

Vellum; xith cent.; palimpsest. The erased work appears to be medical and of the same century. At the beginning is inscribed, 'Liber Sancti Godehardi in Hild[esheim] Wil'.' Small Octavo."

And the humanistic interests of Godehard,[2] as a student of music and the other arts, and as the editor (ordinavit) of a volume used in

[1] Since this article was sent to the printer I have secured some data concerning the paleography of the title and the MS. These I summarize and return with the proof: Through the kindness of Professor Karl Young I have for examination a photograph of the title-page. The heading reads: *Lib sc̄i* (or *ep̄i*?) *Godehardi· in hilđ. Will.* In a letter accompanying the photograph he emphasized that the abbreviation following *Lib* is blurred or altered. He suggested as a query that in the eleventh century this may have been written *ep̄i*, and changed to *sc̄i* in the twelfth. Following up the problem, I wrote Professor Beeson, now in England, asking him if he would not examine the title-page of the MS itself. His reply came only two days ago: "There is no doubt that the original reading was *sc̄i;* this was later—much later, probably—corrected to *ep̄i*. The lower curve of the *c* was erased, and possibly the lower part of the *s*. The parchment is rough here and you cannot tell whether the *s* has been scratched or not. You can still see all of the *s* plainly. The ink is a thin, dirty black, and not at all like the golden brown of the xi c. text or of the heading, which is xii c. The text is xi c., heading xii c.; so your difficulty about the chronology disappears. There are several scribes—I should say—but all of the same period. I find no evidence as to the authorship for any of the parts. I don't know what *Will* means. . . . . I have asked the reading-room expert and he does not know." Certainly, in this MS are some unsolved problems for paleographers and for students of medieval cultural life.

[2] Inevitably, there will occur to the reader the query as to what the bearing of the evidence here summarized is on the conclusions presented in my study concerning the origins of the miracle play (Coffman, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 56 ff.). An answer to this query is outside the province of this article. I do however emphasize one important consideration. This with additional evidence may alter certain of my conclusions in detail; but it will not affect my fundamental doctrine. This I restate (Coffman, *ibid.*, p. 66): "These plays, then, are an expression of the mediaeval renaissance and a new

the services of the ecclesiastical year (legendo et cantando per circulum anni) in the monastery of his student days, make us wish to carry the suggestion as to his direct relation to these plays further than the evidence at this time will permit.

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feature of the feast day celebration of a popular saint. Their origin in connection with schools is what we should logically expect, for the spirit of innovation was dominant in them. And whether the place of their original composition was Hildesheim, Fleury, Angers, or one of the numerous other schools where the St. Nicholas cult was established does not materially affect our theory. They are essentially the product of French innovations." As a final word, I may state that the history of the bishopric of Hildesheim with its cultural backgrounds and with its relations to Gandersheim, the home of Hrotsvitha, is a subject to which I expect to devote myself as time and opportunity permit.

CLERICAL SEA PILGRIMAGES AND THE *IMRAMA*

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The *imram* is marked off rather sharply from such other Celtic otherworld tales as *Serglige Conculaind*, *Echtra Condla Chaim*, and *Imram Brain maic Febail*[1] by a centering of interest upon a prolonged adventurous voyage at sea rather than upon the experiences of a mortal in a single otherworld place. This difference in structure and the absence of a satisfactory link[2] suggest the danger of regarding the otherworld journey as the germ of the *imram* as a narrative form, in spite of important similarities in otherworld presentations. Elsewhere I have given reasons for rejecting Zimmer's theory that the first *imrama* were modeled on the *Aeneid*.[3] A third possible source of inspiration for the genre is supplied by the romantic accounts of actual experiences of Irish clerics on the sea, as recorded in ecclesiastical literature. Zimmer and others have noted the importance of these accounts as sources of much of the material in the *imrama*, but the significance of the influence they may have exerted on the form itself has received little attention, in spite of the fact that all the existing *imrama* are essentially Christian in character[4] and that the sea-pilgrimage tradition is clearly older than the existing *imrama*.

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[1] See R. I. Best, *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Printed Irish Literature*, Dublin, 1913, for editions and translations of these and other Celtic tales.

[2] *Imram Brain* (itself not a true *imram*) has been suggested as a link (A. C. L. Brown, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 56–59), but there is no prolonged rowing about from island to island as in the *imrama*. A somewhat closer parallel to this *imram* motive may be found embodied in *Fled Bricrend ocus Loinges mac n-Duil nDermait* (Windisch, *Irische Texte*), clearly a different type of story.

[3] *Modern Philology*, XV, 65–90. For Zimmer's views see *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXIII, 328 ff.

[4] It is difficult to see how even *Imram Maelduin*, which contains much more non-Christian than Christian material and doubtless embodies episodes drawn from the otherworld journey, could have been originally a pagan *imram*, since the Christian conceptions appear not only at the beginning and end but are scattered about the last part of the story. The hero is the son of a nun and yields to the motive of forgiveness. One cannot be certain, however, about the original character of this tale. It has been much altered by compilers.

A recurring motive in all the *imrama* is the appearance of an Irish cleric on an island where he awaits, without prospect of death, the day of judgment. A striking feature of Celtic asceticism was the habit of retiring to islands for rest or to find a hermitage. As a result of this practice and the vogue of exile, penitential, and missionary voyages, there arose a considerable tradition dealing with these remarkable pilgrimages upon the sea.[1] *Eremum* (or *desertum*) *in oceano quaerere* is the phrase frequently appearing in saints' lives to indicate the pious adventure undertaken by clerics who hoped, under guidance of God, to find somewhere in the sea a desert island where they might find their earthly paradise. Sometimes the specific goal, *terra repromissionis sanctorum* (built up from conceptions of Eden and the biblical land of promise, and not uncolored by borrowings from the Celtic land of the living ones, *tír inna m-béo*), where Enoch and Elijah dwelt, was sought.

The sixth century was a heroic period in Irish church history. It witnessed the flourishing of the older establishments at Armagh and Emly, founded by Patrick and Ailbe, the development of many new centers of ecclesiastical culture, and the beginnings of the missionary movement which was to exert a tremendous influence on continental civilization.[2] Although apparently none of the *imrama* were composed before the eighth century,[1] they all seem to have sixth-century settings.[2] The sixth century seems also to be the age of the first great vogue of the sea pilgrim. One document, the famous *Vita Sancti Columbae,* written by Adamnan of Iona late in the seventh century—hence almost certainly antedating all the known *imrama*[3]—presents abundant evidence of the existence of a tradition of adventurous clerical voyages (some of them revealing an almost startling similarity with a typical *imram*), which became recorded in ecclesiastical literature as early as mid-seventh century.[4]

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[1] Punishment by being set adrift on the ocean seems to have been common both under ecclesiastical and secular administration: *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, 205; Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung* (2d ed., Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1885), pp. 176–77 (XLIV. 8), 101 (XXIX. 7), cf. *Zeit. für celt. Phil.*, III, 99 f.; *Cáin Adámnáin* (ed., K. Meyer), pp. 24, 25, 30, 31, 43; J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 207; Westropp, *Proc. R.I.A.*, XXX, 229, n. 2; Reeves, ed., Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, 1857, lxxiv, 193, 252. The custom is reflected in the *imrama* in *Maelduin* (the Torach cook in Ep. 33, *R.C.*, Vol. X); in *Imram Snedgusa ocus mic Riagla* (the men of Ross: *R.C.*, IX, 14 ff.; cf. *R.C.*, XXVI, 130 ff.); in *Imram Hua Corra* (the cleric Dega, the heroes themselves, *R.C.*, XIV, 22 ff.). Brendan's voyage is sometimes treated as penitential (*Vita Prima* in Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, I, 140). See further Plummer, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxii–cxxiii, n. 1; Plummer, *Bede*, II, 170; Bede, *H.E.* V. ix; III. xiii; Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, pp. 71–72.

[2] Note especially these facts: Finnian, "father of the twelve apostles of Ireland," founded Clonard about 520; Colum cille founded Derry about 546, Durrow before 560, and made his famous pilgrimage, which resulted in the establishment of Iona, in 563; Brendan the Navigator founded Clonfert about 552; Ciaran, Clonmacnoise, 541; Comgall, Ulster Bangor, 554 or 558; Ende, whose seat on Aran Island was a celebrated resort for saints from foreign countries as well as Ireland, was a contemporary of Colum cille and Brendan; the Finnian who was the teacher of Colum cille, founded Movella; Brendan, founder of Birr, associate of Brendan of Clonfert,

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Ende, and Colum cille, died 565 or 572; there were two saints named Molaise, both of whom are said to have imposed on Colum cille the penance which resulted in the founding of Iona—one of them founded Inishmurray; St. Bairre (Finnbarr, Barrfind), who is said to have met Brendan on the sea, flourished in the second half of the century; St. Ita, famous as foster-mother of Brendan of Clonfert, died 577; Columbanus left about 590 on his famous "pilgrimage" to the continent and founded Bobbio in 613; St. Gallus, who founded St. Gall at about the same time, was a member of Columbanus' party; Ailbe, although he is said to have been prominent before the time of Patrick, probably died in the second quarter of the sixth century. The list of famous sixth-century saints might be further extended. Monastic schools flourished and the missionary movement destined to exert tremendous influence on continental civilization was under way. See further the following works (from which the facts summarized in this note have been chiefly drawn): Zimmer, *Celtic Church* and *Irish Element in Med. Culture;* Plummer, Reeves, Bury, Bede, *op. cit.;* Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques; Annals of Ulster.*

[1] *Imram Maelduin* is generally regarded as the oldest of the group, although Zimmer thought *Húi Corra* retained parts of an older version antedating *Maelduin* (*ZfdA*, XXXIII, 148, 182, 201) and some students regard *Navigatio Brendani* as older than *Maelduin.* See *infra,* p. 283, n. 2.

[2] Brendan died 577. The reference to Finnian of Clonard in *Imram Hua Corra* and to the survivor of the party led by Brendan of Birr in *Imram Maelduin* indicate sixth-century settings. The participation of Colum cille in the events of *Imram Snedgusa ocus mic Riagla* is strong evidence for the sixth century, although Thurneysen thinks the original setting was late eighth century (*Zwei Vers. d. mittelirischen Legende v. Sned. u. MacRiagla,* pp. 1–8, 26–30; *Sagen aus dem alten Irland,* pp. 126–27; *Zeit. für celt. Phil.*, VIII, 79–80). In a later paper I expect to give my reasons for regarding the era of Colum cille as the original time setting for this legend.

[3] There is little evidence that any important genuine *imram* has been lost. As to the probable character of the "lost" tales listed under "*Imrama*" (only one bears the title *imram*) in the *LL* list of tales, see O'Curry, *Lectures,* p. 251; O'Looney, *Proc. R.I.A.*, 1879, second series, I, 226.

[4] Adamnan died 704 A.D. Zimmer thought he wrote the *Vita* before he joined the Roman party in the Paschal dispute, 687 or 688 (*Celtic Church,* p. 124.) The *Vita* is professedly based on an earlier life of Columba written by Cummene the Fair and on the testimony of old men. Fortunately, the *Vita* is preserved in a manuscript (*Schaffhausen 32*) written before 713 (Stokes and Strachan, *Thes. Paleohib.*, II, xxxi; Reeves, *op. cit.*, pp. xvii–xix).

Cormac Nepos Lethani, whose voyages are reflected incompletely by Adamnan,[1] was an early rival of St. Brendan for fame as a seafarer. Like Brendan, Cormac desired *eremum in oceano quaerere.* He made at least three efforts, only the last one, as in the case of Brendan, being successful. The first voyage failed because an unauthorized monk was a member of the crew, a fact which presents a striking parallel with a prominent motive appearing in three of the four *imrama.* In *Betha Brennain,* wrights and smiths and a buffoon; in *Navigatio Brendani,* three monks taken on at the last moment; in *Húi Corra,* a naked buffoon; and in *Maelduin,* the three foster-brothers of the hero—all are "supernumeraries" and must be lost somehow before the voyage can succeed. Zimmer thought the taking on of the Odyssean wretch with the subsequent loss of Palinurus, and the consulting of an augury by Aeneas suggested to the author of *Maelduin* the motives of the loss of a supernumerary and of Maelduin's resort to the druid before beginning the journey; but passages in Adamnan seem to provide an adequate basis for both characteristics, a fact which strongly suggests that the *imrama* structurally are deeply rooted in ecclesiastical tradition.[2]

Cormac's third voyage was an especially adventurous one. In true *imram* style, it is made with a crew of clerical companions in a skin-covered coracle. Fourteen days out from land, the voyagers are driven about by the winds till they find themselves in an unknown region in the north, *ultra humani excursus modum.* They encounter strange otherworld monsters which threaten to destroy them. Some of these animals, described as foul, stinging creatures, the size of frogs, infest the oar blades, make a violent attack on the boat, and threaten to penetrate the hide covering.[1] The monks encounter other monsters *quae non hujus est temporis narrare,* are greatly terrified, and quite in the manner of Brendan's companions, tearfully pray for aid (*Navigatio,* Sec. xiv). As God answers Brendan's prayers and brings deliverance, so here Columba, in distant Iona, having prophetic knowledge of the plight of the voyagers, successfully prays that a north wind be sent to drive the wretched voyagers home.[2]

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[1] Reeves's 1857 edition, I. vi; II. xlii. See also the later edition by J. T. Fowler, Oxford, 1894. The passages are too long to quote here. Zimmer printed them in full in his discussion of the early contacts of the Irish and Norse (*Sitz. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin,* XVI, 295–99) and called attention to their significance in connection with *Imram Snedgusa ocus mic Riagla.*

[2] The motive perhaps goes back to the necessity of a pilgrim's securing the consent of an ecclesiastical superior before undertaking his pilgrimage (Plummer, *VS,* I, cxxii–cxxiii). Compare the frequency of Colum cille's conferring a blessing on a pilgrim before his departure (Adamnan, *Vita,* I. xvii, xix, xx; II. xxxix, etc.). If this practice is really the basis for this motive, it would seem likely that Brendan's resort to Bishop Ende suggested Maelduin's resort to the druid, rather than vice versa. Bran also loses a companion on the isle of laughter (cf. *Maelduin*), but he does not seem to be an unauthorized companion, and he is later recovered. The situation suggests contamination in *Bran* from genuine *imram* tradition and lessens the likelihood that *Imram Brain* is a link between *journey* and *imram.*

It is probable that Adamnan was drawing upon a tradition much richer in detail and amount than is reflected in the *Vita,* since he does not seem to be interested in sea voyages as such. The confusion involved in Adamnan's reference to Cormac's first voyage suggests that there was a well-established tradition of Cormac as a voyager when Adamnan wrote: *Hodie iterum Cormacus, desertum reperire cupiens, enavigare incipit . . . . nec tamen etiam hac vice quod quaerit inveniet* (I. vi).[3]

Another sea pilgrim whose experiences are recorded by Adamnan is Baitan (I. xx):

> Alio in tempore quidam Baitanus, gente Nepos Niath Taloirc, benedici a Sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari eremum quaesiturus. Cui valedicens Sanctus hoc de ipso propheticum protulit verbum, Hic homo, qui ad quaerendum in oceano desertum pergit, non in deserto conditus jacebit; sed illo in loco sepelietur ubi oves femina trans sepulcrum ejus minabit. Idem itaque Baitanus, post longos per ventosa circuitus aequora, eremo non reperta, ad patriam reversus, multis ibidem annis cujusdam cellulae dominus permansit, quae Scotice Lathreginden dicitur. . . . .

The practice of resort to islands for rest or pious exercise is often mentioned by Adamnan (I. xxi, xxxiii, xlv; II. xviii, xxiv, xxvi, xli; III. v, xvii, xviii, xxiii). The penitential sea voyage appears in the story of Libran (II. ix). Miraculous foreknowledge of arrivals, and prophecies as to outcome of voyages, both common motives in the *imrama*, appear (I. xx, xxvii, xxx, xlv; II. iv). The devil-inspired destroyers of churches and persecutors of holy men, the sons of Conall (II. xxii), are much like the *Húi Corra*.

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[1] Compare the "worms" which eat through the two outer hides of the boat of the *Húi Corra* (*R.C.*, XIV, 54, 55).

[2] Compare the unique conclusion in Manus O'Donnell's version of the Snedgus and MacRiagla legend: the voyagers become homesick for Colum cille, and a wind springs up and drives them straight to Iona (*Univ. of Ill. Bull.*, XV, No. 48 [July, 1918], 401).

[3] An old Irish poem in the form of a dialogue between Cormac and Colum cille, dated by Zimmer as tenth century, refers to Cormac's voyage as lasting two years and one month (Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 264). Cf. *Félire Oengusso*, notes, pp. 156, 158; 157, 159; and *Félire Húi Gormain*, p. 120 (both ed. by Stokes for Henry Bradshaw Society).

Testimony concerning the vogue of sea pilgrimages is not, of course, confined to Adamnan. In some cases, details are given about the adventures and voyages of island saints encountered in the *imrama* themselves, such as the old cleric on the isle of the sea cat in *Betha Brennain*, the cook of Torach in *Maelduin*, Dega and the cleric who fled "from Jesus" in *Húi Corra*, the men of Ross in the Snedgus and Mac Riagla legend, and Barinthus, Mernoc, and Paulus the Hermit[1] in *Navigatio Brendani*.

There must have been a considerable body of sea-pilgrimage tradition connected with Ailbe of Imliuch. Brendan and the *Húi Corra* both visit the island where Ailbe's family await Doomsday. Some details are given in a Latin life.[2] According to this account (*c.* xlvi), Ailbe departed from Corcomroe (Maelduin went to Corcomroe to consult Nuca, and Brendan to Aran nearby to see Ende before beginning their voyages). Ailbe brought back a palm branch as a token of his visit to the otherworld.[3] The Brussels life of MacCreiche also refers to Ailbe's voyage to the land of promise.[4]

Another Celtic saint famous as a voyager was Machutes (Malo), a pupil of Brendan. The account in Deacon Bili's life of this saint and in an anonymous life is evidently an outgrowth of the Brendan legend and reads much like a true *imram*. There is a first unsuccessful voyage. Frequent thirst of the voyagers is stressed. A giant is brought to life as in *Betha Brennain*. The hero, like Brendan, quiets his frightened companions; like Brendan and Ailbe, persists in his determination to make the voyage and finally gets a blessing from his superior; and brings back an otherworld token.[1]

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[1] Although treated as belonging to an Irish monastery, this figure doubtless goes back ultimately to the account of Paulus of Thebes (the "first hermit") in Jerome's *Vita Pauli*. Paulus spent his long life in a cave hermitage in the Egyptian desert, nourished and sheltered by a palm tree, and clothed only in his long hair (so in the *Navigatio* Paulus, like the hermits in *Maelduin* in Eps. 19, 20, 30, 33, is clothed only in his hair—another indication that *Maelduin* may have borrowed from *Navigatio*). His presence in Irish legend recalls the debt of the Celtic church to eastern monasticism (Zimmer, *Ir. Elem.*, p. 89, note).

[2] Plummer, *VS*, I, 46–64.

[3] A common motive in the *imrama: Navigatio*, Secs. xix, xxiv; *Maelduin*, Ep. 26, and conclusion; *Húi Corra*, sec. 51; *Imram Snedgusa*, Ep. 5; *Betha Brennain* (*Lismore Lives*, pp. 110, 256). The trait appears of course in pagan tales as well; e.g., *Echtra Nerai* (*R.C.*, X, 212).

[4] Plummer, *VS*, I, clxxxiii, n. 4.

One cannot always distinguish in the early records, among pilgrimages made into the unknown sea in search of a hermitage or paradise, penitential and punitive voyages of indefinite destination, and pilgrimages overseas "for Christ's sake," where there was a definite earthly destination and often missionary intent. Monastic and missionary establishments often resulted from pilgrimages not originally missionary in character.[2] Voluntary expatriation was a primary feature of the pilgrimage.[3]

The following entries, among others, all seemingly connected with sixth-century saints, in the old "Litany of Oengus," reflect tradition in which, I believe, the *imram* literature is deeply rooted:[4]

> Thrice fifty true pilgrims who went with Buti beyond the sea.
>
> The Twelve pilgrims who went beyond the sea with Moedhog of Ferns.
>
> Twelve men who went beyond the sea with Rioc, son of Loega.
>
> Thrice twenty men who went with Brendan to seek the land of promise.
>
> The twelve youths of whom Brendan found the survivor in the island of the Cat.
>
> Three descendants of Corra, with their seven companions.
>
> Twelve men who encountered death with Ailbe.
>
> Four-and-twenty from Munster who went with Ailbe upon the sea to find the land in which Christians ever dwell.
>
> Twelve youths who went to heaven with Molaise without sickness.
>
> The confessor whom Brendan met in the promised land, with all the saints who have perished in the isles of the ocean.

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[1] For references to the literature about St. Machutes, see Duchesne, *R.C.*, XI, 1–22, and Schirmer, *Zur Brendanus-Legende*, p. 71. The date is discussed later in this paper.

[2] Plummer, *VS*, I, cxxiii; Reeves, *op. cit.*, *Praef.*, p. 9; Bede, *H.E.* III. 4; Gougaud, *op. cit.*, p. 135, n. 1; *Lismore Lives*, p. 252. H. J. Lawlor, *Proc. R.I.A.*, XXXIII, sec. C, No. 11, pp. 303 ff., stoutly argues that Adamnan did not regard Colum cille's motive in going to Iona as missionary in intent. The early Irish believed that his voyage was penitential—the saint had fomented domestic discord which resulted in bloodshed (Reeves, *op. cit.*, pp. 247–48, 275). The example of Abraham is suggested as motivating some pilgrimages, including that of Colum cille according to an Irish life (*Lismore Lives*, pp. 168 ff.).

[3] Gougaud, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[4] LL. 373 *d;* Leabhor Breac, 23*b*–24*a*. I quote for convenience from the translation by B. M. McCarthy, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, III, 395, 469.

That the Irish clerics actually visited not only the Hebrides but also the Orkneys, the Shetlands, and possibly the Faroes, in the sixth and seventh centuries, and that they ultimately reached Iceland, has long been known.[1] Zimmer was convinced that the scenery in *Maelduin* reflected actual voyages in northern islands such as were undertaken by Ionan monks, and it is not unlikely that the Brendan legend goes back to similar tradition. Further study of this legend, particularly its date and the relations of the *Navigatio* with *Maelduin,* should throw added light on the question of *imram* origins.[2]

Although it must be admitted as possible that the Christian elements in the *imrama* have been grafted on a pagan stock, the lack of conclusive evidence of the existence of a pre-Christian full-fledged *imram* leaves the question open. The purpose of this paper is to suggest some reasons for thinking it more probable that the pagan materials, Celtic or classical, are borrowed embellishments for voyage tales which sprang originally from the rich soil of religious legend in Ireland, particularly the legendary accounts of adventurous sea pilgrimages made by sixth-century Irish clerics.

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[1] The evidence rests largely on passages in Dicuil and the *Landnámabok.* See Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Beauvois, *La Découverte du nouveau Monde* (reviewed by H. G., *R.C.*, III, 101–5); Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography,* Part II, p. 27, n. 1; *Y Cymmrodor,* XXIII, 62, n. 1; *Cath. Encycl.*, II, 758. For other evidence, cf. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France,* VII, 563 (ed., Bouquet, Paris, 1870).

[2] The date of the Brendan legend has not been determined. Existing versions seem to rest upon two diverse, though related, accounts, *NB* (*Navigatio*), preserved in numerous manuscripts and apparently the basis of the many continental versions, and *VB* (*Vita*), represented by the Irish *Betha Brennain* and certain Latin lives (cf. Plummer, *VS,* I, xxxviii). Zimmer thought *NB* to be not earlier than 1050 and made up largely from incidents in *Maelduin* (*ZfdA,* XXXIII, 298). Plummer has pointed out that Zimmer was wrong, since the British Museum has acquired a tenth-century manuscript of *NB,* which itself seems to be a copy (*VS,* I, xli, n. 2). Among important pieces of evidence for the antiquity of the Brendan legend is the demonstrable age of the legend of St. Machutes, clearly an excrescence on the Brendan tradition. Deacon Bili dedicated his Latin life of Machutes to Ratwili (bishop 866–72) and says he used as a source a life composed *longo tempore antequam nos orti fuissemus* by *alius sapiens.* Further study may prove that the Brendan story is after all older than *Maelduin,* as some of the older authorities thought (Stokes, *R.C.*, IX, 450; F. Lot, in d'Arbois, *Cours,* V, 451; Schirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Cf. Boser, *Romania,* XXII, 583 ff.). If so, the significance of ecclesiastical origins for the *imrama* is heightened.

THE PASSING OF ARTHUR

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According to the *Annales Cambriae*,[1] compiled during the second half of the tenth century, Arthur, flower of kings, fell in battle like one of the common sons of mortality. But Arthur was not one of those whose names were destined to be lost in the folios of monkish chronicles. A scant two centuries after the writing of the *Annales* his last exploit appears again on the written page tricked out in one of the most ancient and lofty fables ever devised against the opium of time. *Inclytus ille Arturus rex letaliter vulneratus est, qui . . . . ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avallonis advectus, ... Constantino . . . . diadema Britanniae concessit*, writes Geoffrey of Monmouth with tantalizing brevity.[2] About 1155 Geoffrey's Latin was translated into French verse by the Anglo-Norman Wace, who added the important information that the *Breton* still look for Arthur's return, and cited Merlin as authority for the assertion that *sa fin dotose seroit*.[3] Based primarily on Wace's account, but far more picturesque in detail and less skeptical in tone, is the English version contained in Laȝamon's *Brut*, written near the beginning of the thirteenth century. Here Arthur, grievously wounded, addresses Constantine as follows:

> ". . . . Ic wulle varen to Avalun, to vairest alre maidene,
> To Argante þere quene, alven swiðe sceone,
> And heo scal mine wunden makien alle isunde,
> Al hal me makien mid halweiȝe drenchen;
> And seoððe ich cumen wulle to mine kineriche,
> And wunien mid Brutten mid muchelere wunne."

The narrative then proceeds:

> Æfne þan worden þer com of se wenden
> þat wes an sceort bat liðen, sceoven mid uðen,
> And twa wimmen þerinne wunderliche idihte;
> And heo nomen Arður anan, and aneouste hine vereden,

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[1] *Y Cymmrodor*, XI (1890), *ad. an.* 537.

[2] *Hist. reg. Brit.* (ed., San-Marte, Halle, 1854), *Lib.* xi, *cap.* 2. For the Welsh translation, see *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, London, II (1801), 356 f.

[3] *Brut* (ed., Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen), II (1838), 230 f.

And softe hine adun leiden, and forđ gunnen liđen.
þa wes hit iwurđen þat Merlin seide whilen,
þat weore unimete care of Arđures forđfare;
Bruttes ileveđ ȝete þat he beo on live,
And wunnie in Avalun mid fairest alre alven;
And lokieđ evere Bruttes ȝete whan Arđur cume liđen.
Nis naver þe mon iboren, of naver nane burde icoren,
þe cunne of þan sođe of Arđure suggen mare;
Bute while wes an witeȝe, Merlin ihate;
He bodede mid worde—his quides weoren sođe—
þat an Arđur sculde ȝete cum Anglen (*leg.* Bruttes) to fulste.[1]

Similar to Laȝamon's narrative are several versions of the episode in medieval romance.[2] Of these, the only one to which special attention need be drawn here is that found in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, composed from older materials before 1471. That Malory, like Wace and Laȝamon, was embarrassed by a multiplicity of authorities on Arthur's passing is obvious from his method of telling the story.

. . . . Whan they [Arthur and Bedwere] were at the water syde / euyn fast by the banke houed a lytyl barge wyth many fayr ladyes in hit / & emonge hem al was a quene / and al they had blacke hoodes / and al they wepte and shryked when they sawe Kyng Arthur / Now put me in to the barge sayd the kyng and so he dyd softelye / And there receyued hym thre quenes wyth grete mornyng and soo they sette hem doun / and in one of their lappes kyng Arthur layed hys heed / and than that quene sayd a dere broder why haue ye taryed so longe from me / Alas this wounde on your heed hath caught ouermoche colde / And soo than they rowed from the londe / and syr bedwere behelde all tho ladyes goo from hym. . . . . [On departing Arthur addresses Bedivere as follows] . . . . I wyl in to the vale of auylyon to hele me of my greuous wounde. And yf thou here neuer more of me praye for my soule / but euer the quenes and ladyes wepte and shryched that hit was pyte to here. [Sir Bedivere now goes to a neighboring hermitage, where he sees a new-made grave in which, as he learns, there is interred a body brought hither by certain ladies the night before.] Alas sayd syr bed-

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[1] Laȝamon's *Brut* (ed., Sir Frederic Madden, London), III (1847), 144 f. For convenience, I follow the text as printed by O. F. Emerson, *Middle English Reader* (rev. ed., New York, 1916), pp. 190 f. On the question of the sources of the prophecy here attributed to Merlin, see F. Lot, *Rom.*, XXX (1901), 17, n. 3; R. H. Fletcher, *PMLA*, XVIII (1903), 93 f.; A. C. L. Brown, *MP*, I (1903–4), 95 ff.; R. Imelmann, *Laȝamon: Versuch u. seine Quellen*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 91 f.; F. L. Gillespy, *Univ. of Cal. Pub. in Mod. Phil.*, IV (1916), 492 ff.

[2] See Oscar Sommer, *Morte Arthure*, III (1891), 11, 265, 269. See further, Jessie L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, London, 1901, pp. 204 f.; J. D. Bruce, *Mort Artu*, Halle, 1910, pp. 298 f.

> were that was my lord kyng Arthur that here lyeth buryed in thys chapel. . . . . Thus of Arthur I fynde neuer more wryton in bookes that ben auctorysed nor more of the veray certente of his deth herde I neuer redde / but thus was he ledde aweye in a shyppe wherein were thre quenes / that one was kyng Arthurs syster quene Morgan le fay / the other was the quene of North galys / the thyrd was the quene of the waste londes / Also there was Nynyue the chyef lady of the lake. . . . . More of the deth of kyng Arthur coude I neuer fynde but that ladyes brought hym to his buryellys / & such one was buryed there that the hermyte bare wytnesse that sometyme was bysshop of caunterburye / but yet the hermyte knewe not in certayn that he was verayly the body of kyng Arthur. . . . . Yet somme men say in many partyes of England that kyng Arthur is not deed / But had by the wylle of our lord Ihesu in to another place / and men say that he shal come ageyn & he shal wynne the holy crosse. I wyl not say that it shal be so / but rather I wyl say here in thys world he chaunged his lyf / but many men say that there is wryton vpon his tombe this vers. Hic jacet Arthurus Rex quondam Rex que futurus.[1]

Disregarding, as we may for our present purpose, the vexed question of the origin of *Avalon* as a name for the other world, let us consider at once the *punctum saliens* of the whole matter—the source of the story under consideration and the form in which it appeared before it became a part of the stock in trade of medieval romance.

Although there is unimpeachable evidence that during the twelfth century faith in Arthur's ultimate return was an article of the popular creed in certain districts of Celtic Britain and Armorica,[2] and although the general assumption appears to be that the motif of the passing of Arthur originated somewhere in Celtic territory,[3] there has up to the present moment been adduced no absolutely reliable Brythonic evidence from which to reconstruct the story as it existed before the appearance of Geoffrey's *Historia.*[1]

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[1] *Morte Darthur* (ed., Sommer), Book XXI, chaps. v–vii.

[2] The evidence is discussed by L. A. Paton, *Radcliffe Coll. Mono.*, XIII (1903), 35 ff., and Fletcher [Harvard], *Studies and Notes*, X (1906), 101. See also Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. reg. Brit.*, *ed. cit.*, pp. 415 ff. Zimmer, who reviewed the whole matter, *Zeitschr. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII (1890), 240 ff.; XIII (1891), 106 ff., would confine the tradition of Arthur's death originally to Wales, that of his passage to fairyland and his future return to Brittany. According to the German scholar, the account reflected in Geoffrey, Wace, Laȝamon, and the romances is the result of a contamination of the two. Cf. J. Loth, *Rev. celt.*, XIII (1892), 480 ff.

[3] See, for example, Sir Frederic Madden, *op. cit.*, I, xvi; III, 410; Richard Wuelcker, Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, III (1876), 549; John Rhŷs, *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 18; Alfred Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 122; Brown, *MP*, I (1903–4), 95 ff. (cf. [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VII [1900], 188 ff.); Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.; Fletcher [Harvard], *Studies and Notes*, X, 100 ff., 143; Windisch, *Abhandln. der königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIX (1912), 115.

In the absence of trustworthy analogues from pre-Galfridian British or Breton tradition, scholars have naturally turned to the literature of early Ireland, which, as is admitted by all except the most skeptical, furnishes the best available picture of Celtic tradition in Western Europe during the first ten Christian centuries.[2] Yet even in this rich field, research has hitherto scarcely advanced beyond establishing, in a general way, the theory that the various accounts of Arthur's departure for Avalon go back to a Celtic tale in which a mortal is lured to the other world by an amorous *fée.*[3] Stories of this type are, it is true, abundantly preserved in the recorded tradition of ancient Ireland, but none of those yet cited in connection with the passing of Arthur can be said to represent the theme in anything like the form utilized by Geoffrey and the writers of medieval romance.

Of the early Celtic stories discussed in this connection, the one which, it would seem, is regarded as most instructive[4] occurs in the early-Irish saga of the *Serglige Conchulainn* ("Sickbed of Cuchulainn"). In both the Irish saga and the Arthur-Avalon episode, the heroes are the object of attention from fairy women and are convoyed to the other world, but the element of healing, which furnishes the motive of Arthur's journey and which, be it noted, differentiates the account from other fairy-mistress stories such as *Lanval*, cannot be reckoned a feature of the Irish narrative in its present form. In the Irish saga, Cuchulainn is visited by fairy women who produce in him a strange debility, and who, we are told later, are ready to restore his strength, but in the text as we now have it the implication is that the cure will take place in the world of mortals,[1] the hero is said to have laid aside his weakness (*ro-cuir a mertnigi ocus a tromdacht de*)[2] before he goes to fairyland; when he does go, his purpose is to give battle to the enemies of a fairy king; when he reaches the other world, no mention is made of healing; and the account of his proceedings there renders it highly improbable that the absence of this feature is due merely to its having been lost in transmission.[3] Moreover, as was pointed out by Zimmer a generation ago,[4] the text of the oldest manuscript (LU) of the *Serglige Conchulainn* shows repetitions, contradictions, and inconsistencies that point unmistakably to a compilatory character.[5] From the more recent investigations of Best[6] and of Thurneysen,[7] it is clear that the LU account is patched together from parts of two texts,[8] of which the older forms the conclusion, the later, the beginning of the saga in its present form, and that at least one of the two has undergone revision. Though it is obvious to the student of folklore that behind these two clumsily pieced and interpolated fragments there lie several popular variants of the conventional journey to the other world, and though it is conceivable that in one of these the hero's weakness was used as an excuse for his journey to fairyland, such a hypothetical account would be a far cry from the passing of Arthur for, as Miss Paton has pointed out,[1] Cuchulainn's debility is "simply the evidence that he is within the fairy power," whereas Arthur "is not under the influence of a druidic trance, but his wounds have been received on a well-fought field, where he has performed many deeds of valor."[2] For the purposes of the present investigation, we had best confine ourselves to unequivocal evidence, resisting the temptation to infer that Arthur departing wounded from Camlan has replaced an older and more amorous hero who suffered from the love wounds of a supernatural infatuation.

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[1] See Thomas Stephens, *Lit. of the Kymry*, Llandovery, 1849, p. 416; Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII (1890), 238 f.; E. Brugger, *ibid.*, XX (1898), p. 98. The prediction of Arthur's return referred to in the *Avallenau*, attributed to Myrdhin (*Myv. Arch.*, I (1801), 153; cf. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 225; W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, Edinburgh, 1868, I, 370 ff.; II, 335) and the oft-quoted passage about Arthur's burial place in the "Stanzas of the Graves" (*Black Book of Carmarthen* ed., J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Pwllheli, 1906, p. 67, l. 13), are of uncertain date and hence cannot be relied on as absolutely independent evidence. See further, Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII (1890), 238, n. 2; Rhŷs, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The late Professor Bruce's admission (*MLN*, XXVI (1911), 67, n. 16), that the *Vita Merlini* can be regarded as "a strictly Celtic source" is too generous (cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.). Arthur goes to another world in early Welsh tradition (cf. Brown [Harvard], *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 77 ff.), but the fact does not help us here.

[2] Cf. Rudolph Thurneysen, *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1885, p. 20; Cross, *Rev. celt.*, XXXI (1910), 420 ff.

[3] See Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff., 136. But see the suggestions of Nitze, *MLN*, XXV (1910), 249, *MP*, IX (1911–12), 296, n. 6; cf. *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 398, n. 6.

[4] Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f., 64, 145.

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[1] See Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, Leipzig, I (1880), 209; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, Berlin, 1901, p. 85, ll. 1–4.

[2] Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, I, 216, l. 27.

[3] The fact is that Cuchulainn is suffering temporarily from lovesickness (cf. Ehrismann, Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, XXX (1905), 39; Nitze, *MP*, XI (1914), 462). In this connection, it should be observed that in the saga under discussion he is rebuked by his wife, Emer, because he lies "sick for the love of a woman" (*laigi fri bangrád*, *Ir. Texte*, I, 216, l. 10), and that in the Egerton version of the *Tochmarc Etaine* the condition of Ailill, who pines for the love of Etain, is called *serglighe* (*op. cit.*, I, 123, l. 4). Cf. H. Gaidoz, "Le Mal d'amour d'Ailill Anguba," *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer*, Halle, 1912, pp. 91 ff. See further, Lowes, *MP*, XI (1914), 491 ff., especially pp. 533 f.

[4] Kuhn, *Zeitschr.*, XXVIII, 594 ff. Cf. Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, I, 202 ff.

[5] Strange to say, few Arthurian scholars appear to take proper account of Zimmer's important conclusions.

[6] *Eriu*, VI (1912), 167.

[7] *Die irische König- u. Heldensage*, Halle, 1921, pp. 431 ff.

[8] A third passage, used to connect the beginning and the end, may be disregarded for our present purpose.

Fortunately, we need not have recourse to cunningly reconstructed tales in order to retrieve the particular type of Celtic composition upon which the passing of Arthur ultimately rests. A startlingly close parallel occurs in the *Táin bó Fráich*,[3] a document which, viewed from the standpoint of language, may be regarded as one of the most archaic Irish sagas, and which contains linguistic forms that point to the ninth century as the period of composition.[4] As it stands, the *Táin bó Fráich* consists of two independent stories. Of these, the first alone requires our attention here. It forms, in itself, a complete narrative and, though perhaps slightly later in date than the second, is certainly far older than the twelfth century.

The *Táin bó Fráich* is one of a series of narratives introductory to the central epic of the *Táin bó Cúailnge*. The part under discussion deals with the wooing of Finnabair, the beautiful daughter of Ailill of Connacht and his unscrupulous consort, Medb, by the handsome Fraech mac Fidaig, son of the *fée* Bé Finn, sister of Boann (the river Boyne). Woven into the fabric of the narrative are various traditional motifs, of which the widespread myth of the dragon[1] forms the induction to our episode. While attempting to perform a difficult task assigned him by the treacherous mother of his sweetheart, Fraech is attacked by a water-monster that haunts a lake near the royal dun of Connacht. In the ensuing struggle, he is so grievously wounded that he has to be carried into the stronghold. After describing a healing lotion which is administered to the wounded hero, the narrative proceeds as follows:[2]

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] Cf. Bruce, *Mort Artu*, pp. 299 ff. Tristan's voyage of healing and its analogues, as discussed by Gertrude Schoepperle (Loomis) (*Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt and London, II (1911), 375 ff.), belong to a variant of the journey to the other world which throws little, if any, light on the passing of Arthur.

[3] As this article goes to press, I observe that the similarity between the stories of Fraech and Arthur is discussed by the late Mrs. Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis in a study which has just come to my hand in an advance copy of *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, New Haven, etc., 1923, pp. 3 ff. The author's assertion that certain accounts of Fraech's death are recorded in the Rennes MS appears to be incorrect.

[4] See John Strachan, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1891–94, pp. 495, 555; 1895–98, p. 79, n. 2. Julius Pokorny, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, XIII (1919), 121, dates it before the last quarter of the eighth century, but Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 285 f., doubts whether the evidence justifies placing it quite so early.

> Then they [Fraech's attendants] heard something—a wailing upon Cruachan. There were seen thrice fifty women with purple tunics, with green head-dresses, with pins of silver on their wrists. A messenger is sent to them to learn what they lamented. "Fraech, son of Idath," says the [chief] woman, "the darling of the king of the fairy-hills of Ireland." At this Fraech hears the wailing. "Lift me out," says he to his retinue; "this is the weeping of my mother and of the women of Boand." Upon that he is lifted out and carried to them. The women come around him and carry him away into the fairy-hill of Cruachan.
>
> At the time of nones on the morrow this is what they saw—he comes and he quite whole, without stain and without blemish, and fifty women around him, equal in age, in figure, in beauty, in fairness, in symmetry, in form, with features of women of the fairy-hill so that there was no recognizing of one beyond another of them. . . . . They parted at the door of the stronghold. Thereupon he [Fraech] goes into the dun. All the folk rise to meet him and welcome him as if it were from another world he came.

The similarity between this episode and the passing of Arthur, as described by Laȝamon and Malory, hardly needs emphasizing. In comparing the two, we may at the outset disregard the dragon myth (which has a long and independent history of its own) and the connection of the story with the ancient Irish epic. Stripped of these purely extraneous features, the narrative represents, in all essentials, just the combination of motifs we are seeking. Remembering, in the first place, that in numerous accounts Arthur, like Fraech, is represented as departing to an underground retreat,[1] and, secondly that the subterranean and transmarine fairy worlds are constantly interchanged or confused in ancient Irish tradition, we may safely regard the Fraech episode as an early version of the story which became the basis of the passing of Arthur.

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[1] Cf. J. F. Campbell, *The Celtic Dragon Myth*, Edinburgh, 1911.

[2] The text used as the basis for the following translation is that of the oldest MS, the twelfth-century Book of Leinster (*Facs.*, pp. 250*b*–251*a;* cf. O'Beirne Crowe, *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, "Ir. MSS Series," Dublin, I [1870], 1, 48 f.), which, except for a few minor textual differences, is substantially the same for this episode as that of the remaining early MSS (cf. *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, IV [1903], 41 f.; *Rev. celt.*, XXIV [1903], 149 f.). For a list of translations, see R. I. Best, *Bibliog. of Ir. Phil. and of Printed Ir. Lit.* (Nat. Lib. of Ireland), Dublin, 1913, under the title of the saga. See further, Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage*, pp. 285 ff.

But Fraech is by no means the only early Irish hero who visited fairyland in order to be healed of his wounds. The motif is associated with no less a person than the great Cuchulainn himself, whose exploits furnish so many startling parallels to Arthurian romance. The *Táin bó Cúailnge,* which in its earliest written form goes back to the ninth century after Christ,[2] has for its central theme Cuchulainn's defense of a ford against the enemies of Ulster. All three versions of the epic tell how Cuchulainn, weakened by wounds received in a long series of single combats with representatives of the opposing force, is at length visited by his supernatural father, Lug, who restores his strength with fairy plants and curative herbs (*lossa síde ocus lubi íccí*),[3] and an interpolated but still very ancient passage in the earliest version represents the heroic champion of Ulster as returning healed from the fairy world to bring help to his countrymen at a moment of national crisis.[4] Again, in the longest document of the Ossianic cycle, the *Acallam na Senórach,* composed not far from the year 1200 on the basis of older traditional material, Cailte, one of the chief heroes of the *Fían,* is wounded by a magical spear, goes off to the other world to be healed by a *fée,*[5] and returns cured.[6]

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[1] Cf. Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.* (trans., Stallybrass, London), IV (1888), 961, 1594 ff.; San-Marte, *Die Arthur-Sage,* Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1842, 64 f.; *Hist. reg. Brit., ed. cit.,* 415 ff.; Rhŷs, *op. cit.,* p. 18; Fletcher [Harvard], *Studies and Notes,* X, 188.

[2] Cf. Thurneysen, *Ir. Helden- u. Königsage,* p. 112.

[3] Windisch, *Ir. Texte,* Extraband, 1905, pp. 344 f.; Thurneysen, *op. cit.,* p. 178.

[4] *Táin bo Cúailnge* (ed. Strachan and O'Keefe, Dublin, 1912), p. 115. Cf. Thurneysen, *op. cit.,* pp. 107, 208.

[5] *Ir. Texte,* IV, Heft 1 (1900), pp. 254 ff. In the *Leighes Coise Chein,* a late medieval wonder tale, a chieftain who has been injured by an offended fairy woman, goes to an island for healing (*Silva gadelica,* II, 335).

[6] Popular heroes who have retired from the world but who will return ere long to take part in some great national conflict are familiar figures in the tradition of many peoples, but the myth seems to have appealed peculiarly to the Irish imagination and

Much might be written concerning the widespread attribution of supernatural medical knowledge to other-world beings and the possible connection of our Irish analogues with ancient Celtic religion, but such speculations would hardly add materially to the soundness of the conclusion forced upon us by the evidence presented above; namely, that the specific type of story illustrated by the passing of Arthur existed in Celtic long before it became the vehicle of Brythonic national aspirations or enriched the heritage of medieval romance.

Let us return, for a moment, to the story of Fraech. As is obvious from competent investigations in the domain of folk literature, the woman who in the Irish story figures as Fraech's mother was originally his fairy mistress,[1] the substitution being doubtless attributable to the fact that in this particular story the hero must be free from amorous entanglements in order that he may appear as the devoted lover of Finnabair. In the *Tochmarc Treblainne*,[2] a late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century saga connected with Fraech, the hero appears as the beloved of the *fée* Treblann, and it is she (not his mother) who transports his body to the fairy world after a disastrous encounter with Cuchulainn. These observations are instructive in connection with the fact that Arthur's other-world *amie* is often represented as his relative or as merely a platonic friend.[3]

Again, the weeping women of the Irish story are of course the Celtic prototypes of the mourning queens of Arthurian romance, but before we can comprehend the true significance of their lamentations, we must consider certain other Irish documents connected with Fraech.

In the oldest version of the *Táin bó Cúailnge* Fraech, urged on by Medb, attacks Cuchulainn at the ford. He is slain by his invincible

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is connected with the names of several historical personages in later Irish tradition. Cf. C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, London, 1908, p. 163, n.; Graf, *Miti, legg., e. superstiz. del Med. Evo*, II, 329 ff.; John J. Parry, *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XXI (1922), 590.

[1] Cf. Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Brown, *MP*, XVII (1919), 361 ff.

[2] *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, XIII (1919), 166 ff.

[3] See Miss Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 f. Miss Paton's discussion of Arthur's relation with the Lady of the Lake also recalls the fact that Fraech's mother (Bé Finn), through her sister (Boann), is associated with the water-world. The name "Bé Finn" is also applied to Etain (*Ir. Texte*, I, 132), a fairy lady whose history so closely parallels certain situations in Arthurian romance. See, e.g., Kittredge [Harvard], *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 190 ff. See further, *Ir. Texte*, IV, Heft 1, Index, *s.v.*, Bé-bind.

opponent, and his body is borne into the Connacht stronghold. The narrative then goes on:

> All the camp bewails Fraech, till they saw a train of women in green tunics [lamenting] over the body of Fraech son of Idath. They carry [?] it away from them into the fairy-hill. Now the fairy-hill of Fraech is that elfmound's name.[1]

A number of traditions regarding Fraech are summarized in a collection of topographical legends known as the *Dinnshenchas* and preserved in the fifteenth-century Book of Lecan.[2] The passage in question consists of a prose résumé followed by a poem. The prose repeats the tradition that Fraech was wounded by the water-monster and adds that he was healed in the cairn that bears his name. Both prose and verse also give a variant of the romantic account of his death at the hands of Cuchulainn.[3] As an alternative to the story that Fraech was healed in the cairn after his encounter with the dragon, the compiler of the prose refers to a report that the hero was actually slain by the beast, but rejects it in favor of the theory that he was killed by Cuchulainn and his body borne away into the fairy-hill.[4] The tradition that Fraech died of the bite of the lake monster forms the subject of a ballad first recorded in the Scottish Gaelic dialect about 1500[5] and afterward printed several times from popular sources.[6]

The similarity between this group of fragmentary traditions and the Arthur story is unmistakable. Like Arthur, Fraech is variously represented as dying of his wounds, as being healed by supernatural agencies, as being transported to fairyland by weeping women, one of whom is his kinswoman. Moreover, in the case of both Arthur and Fraech we have certain versions which show contamination between the realistic and the romantic traditions, others which record successively various accounts of the hero's passing.

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[1] The text is printed by Strachan and O'Keefe, *op. cit.*, p. 29. Cf. *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, IX (1913), 140; *Rev. celt.*, XVI (1895), 139. For a translation, see L. W. Faraday, *Cattle-Raid of Cualnge*, London, 1904, p. 36.

[2] *Rev. celt.*, XVI (1895), 136 ff.; *Royal Irish Academy*, "Todd Lecture Series," X (1913), 356 ff.

[3] Both prose and verse relate another tradition in accordance with which another Fraech was slain by a namesake of his. Cf. *Battle of Magh Leana* (ed., E. Curry, Dublin, 1855), pp. 45 ff. For still other Fraechs, see *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, XIII (1919), 166; *Ir. Texte*, Extraband, pp. 71, 89, 289, n. 9.

[4] The slaying of Fraech by Cuchulainn is referred to without romantic embellishment in a poem attributed to Mac Coice (†990): *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, VI (1908), 269.

[5] *The Dean of Lismore's Book* (ed., Thomas McLauchlan, Edinburgh, 1862), Gaelic text, pp. 36 ff.; Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae celticae*, Inverness, I (1892), 62 ff.

[6] *Scots Mag.*, XVIII (1756), 15; *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society* [of Scotland], Edinburgh, 1805, Appendix, pp. vii, 99 ff.; O. L. Jiriczek, *Englische Studien*, XLIV (1912), 198 f.; *Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, XIV (1889), 314 ff. J. F. Campbell, *Laebhar na Feinne*, London, I (1872), 29 ff.; *The Celtic Dragon Myth*, pp. 18 ff.; Donald Mackinnon, *Descr. Cat. of Gaelic MSS in the Advocates' Library*, etc., Edinburgh, 1912, p. 155.

To determine the proximate source of the story of Arthur's passing, to trace from antiquity the devious path by which the motif reached the writers of medieval romance, and to fix its relations to similar stories outside Celtic territory—these are problems which, however important for the general subject of Arthurian origins, cannot be dealt with here. Nor does our failure to solve them minimize the significance of certain conclusions to be drawn from the evidence presented in this study. Our results may be briefly summarized thus:

1. The passing of Arthur as described in medieval romance originated in a Celtic tradition similar to that attached to certain early Irish heroes and best preserved in the *Táin bó Fráich.*

2. The evidence in the case tends strongly to discredit Zimmer's well-known theory that the realistic and the romantic traditions of Arthur's passing were originally confined to Wales and Brittany, respectively.

3. It is not infrequently dangerous to try to settle Arthurian problems on the basis of the Arthurian romances alone.

THE WONDERFUL FLOWER THAT CAME TO ST. BRENDAN

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I

One of the Homeric hymns[1] tells how Persephone, straying in a meadow, was attracted by a narcissus of wonderful size and beauty. No sooner had she broken the stem of the marvelous flower than Hades appeared in a golden chariot, and bore her away to the underworld.

Everyone knows the golden bough which, according to Virgil,[2] was gathered by Aeneas in a gloomy wood, and gained for him admission into the underworld.

A number of German folk tales are concerned with a wonderful flower (Schlüsselblume) which admits the finder to a kobold's treasure-house.[3] A shepherd plucks an unusual flower, and puts it in his hat. Suddenly the side of a hill opens, and he walks through a passage into a large hall full of chests of gold and diamonds. A kobold with a long white beard sits at the table, and greets the stranger kindly enough, shouting out: "Take what you will, and don't forget the best!" The shepherd, eager to carry off all the gold he can, leaves the flower behind. As he is going, he hears a cry (probably from the flower itself): "Don't forget the best!" He pays no heed. In an instant the door of the hill shuts, and his gold and diamonds turn to straw. Too late he realizes that had he kept the flower, he would have kept the treasure as well, and also been able to enter the hill whenever he pleased.

A ballad "commonplace," according to which a maiden no sooner breaks a flower in the forest than she falls into the power of an elfin lover,[1] most likely had its origin in this idea that a key flower opens a way to the other world, or that to gather a flower is a challenge to otherworld folk:

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[1] *Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns*, Loeb Classics, p. 289. Cf. p. 171, where Zeus saw Europa gathering flowers, and carried her off.

[2] *Aeneid* vi. 136 f.

[3] Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 1891, Nos. 9, 304, 315; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (trans. by Stallybrass), III, 971–72; IV, 1596–97.

> She had na pu'd a double rose,
> A rose but only twa,
> Til up then started young Tam Lin,
> Says, Lady, thou's pu nae mae.
> Why pu's thou the rose, Janet,
> And why breaks thou the wand [Child, I, 360]?

Widely spread, therefore, in space and time, is the story of a magic flower or branch that leads one to the otherworld. The flower or branch protects the mortal on his entrance to the otherworld (Virgil, Grimm), or it delivers the mortal into the power of the otherworld folk (Persephone, Tam Lin). It always grows on this earth. I have never found any suggestion (outside of Celtic literature) that the branch was brought from fairyland.

II

Irish fairies, unlike most of the creatures that people the imagination of the rest of Europe, are not terrible or malevolent. An Irish hero confides in his fairy folk, if I may so say, and needs no talisman to protect him from their malice. In Irish story, a marvelous flower could only be a lure to persuade an earthly hero to seek the delights of fairyland, and this is the way it always occurs, so far as I know, in Irish literature.

The best example is the *Imram Brain* (voyage of Bran), which was originally written down in the seventh or eighth century.[2] Bran one day heard music behind him. At last he fell asleep at the music, such was its sweetness. "When he awoke from his sleep he saw close by him a branch of silver with white blossoms. Then Bran took the branch in his hand to his royal house." The royal house was full of kings and warriors "when suddenly they all saw a woman in wonderful garments on the floor of the house." She sang to them:

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[1] Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 41, 360, 450–54; III, 504; IV, 456. In V, 474, Child collects the references, as if he saw no folklore in the incident, under the heading: "Pretence that a maid is trespassing in a wood." On the other hand, Andrew Lang, *Folk-Lore*, XVIII (1907), 89–91, regards the incident as a vestige of a fairy challenge. The incident occurs (by transfer?) where the lover is an ordinary mortal, but, for the most part (e.g., Tam Lin, Hind Etin), he is an unearthly creature or wood spirit. Grimm compares the rose garden of the dwarf Laurin (*Deutsches Heldenbuch*). One remembers how Garel (ed., Walz, 1892) challenged an uncanny knight, Eskilabon, by breaking a flower in a garden. Cf. Nutt, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 26, 193.

[2] Meyer and Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi ff.

A branch of the apple-tree from Emain
I bring like those one knows;
Twigs of white silver are on it,
Crystal boughs with blossoms.

The branch gives forth a marvelous music that puts the hosts to sleep.

"Thereupon the woman went from them while they knew not whither she went. And she took her branch with her. The branch sprang from Bran's hand into the hand of the woman, nor was there strength in Bran's hand to hold the branch."

After this, Bran procured a ship with a crew of men and sailed the western ocean till he came to Emain, or the Irish happy otherworld.

In two points, this, and numerous other Irish *imrama* (otherworld voyages) that mention a magic branch,[1] differ sharply from all stories of the type which are known to me outside of Celtic territory. First, the magic branch with the flowers is in no sense a protection for the mortal adventurer, nor are the otherworld people hostile. Second, the magic branch does not grow on this earth. It is brought from fairyland. These seem to be distinguishing marks of Celtic fancy, and any wonderful-flower story that has these marks may safely be classified as of Celtic origin.

III

A wonderful-flower story has recently turned up as a prologue to St. Brendan's voyage. The legend of St. Brendan had acquired some vogue outside of Ireland even before the Norman conquest of England. The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* exists in a tenth-century MS.[2] From Latin, the story was translated into most of the languages of Western Europe.

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[1] For references, see E. Hull, "The Silver Bough in Irish Legend," *Folk-Lore*, XII (1901), 430–45.

[2] Plummer, *Vitae S. Hib.*, I, xli, note 2; cf. St. Ailbe's flower, clxxxiii, 63.

It is now generally understood that this *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* is little more than an Irish *imram* retold by a monk, who has Christianized the story as much as possible, and connected as many of the marvels as he could with biblical and legendary miracles.[1]

Two different introductions or prologues to the voyage of St. Brendan have long been known, which I may call the marvelous-book prologue, and the marvelous-navigator prologue.

The marvelous-book prologue occurs in various German versions.[2] According to it, St. Brendan read one day, in a book, about many marvels that seemed to him so impossible that in a fit of rage he cursed the unknown author and burned the book. As penance for this, because he had doubted the wonders of God, St. Brendan was told that he must voyage the ocean for nine years, and see with his own eyes those marvels which he had doubted. This prologue is plainly the invention of some monk to whom books were familiar objects. Its late character is further shown by the fact that it appears only in the comparatively late German versions of the story.

The marvelous-navigator prologue occurs in the Latin *Navigatio*. According to this, Brendan got the idea of his journey from a certain mysterious Barinthus, who visited him one evening and told him about the wonderful things he had seen in the ocean. Barinthus is, as I have conjectured, none other than the famous sea fairy Manannán,[3] and the prologue is based on Irish materials and may be of Irish invention.

Recently, Thurneysen has published an Irish voyage of St. Brendan,[4] which differs from every form of the story previously, known by beginning with a wonderful-flower prologue:

> The twelve apostles of Ireland were at Clonard a-learning with Finden. Finden made a feast for the apostles and for the rest of the saints of Ireland. When they were merriest at drinking together at the feast they saw a huge, unequalled flower, the conspicuous sign of the Land of Promise, coming to them. . . . .

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[1] Zimmer, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, XXXIII (1889), 129 f.

[2] See C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan*, 1871, pp. vii–ix.

[3] *Rev. celt.*, XXII (1901), 339–44.

[4] *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, X (1915), 408–20. Thurneysen edits the Irish text from four MSS. Neither the MS evidence nor the testimony of language suffices to date the text as any older than the twelfth century. After the rest of this article was in type, Plummer's edition has reached me: *Lives of Irish Saints*, I (1922), 96–102.

Brenainn son of Findlug sang this song:

"The twelve apostles of Ireland were engaged in eager, noble learning with Finden of the twenty monasteries, they sang eagerly their lesson.

"Then they, the valiant, true, good, assembly, saw the flower coming to them from the glittering Land of Promise, from the King of Kings, from the royal Ruler.

"They said to each other—it belonged to their good resolutions—that they would seek the land of the flower until they should meet with the secrets of God.

. . . . "

Then a ship was prepared by Brenainn, excellent in size and crew, namely two hundred fifty-five men were the number that embarked in that ship.

Thereupon Brenainn son of Findlug sailed over the tossing waves of the tawny-maned ocean, etc. . . . .

From the comparison made above of the variants of the marvelous-flower formula, we can see that this prologue published by Thurneysen shows two peculiarities of Irish fancy.[1] The flower is an enticement or lure, not in any way a protection; and it comes from fairyland. We may therefore, with confidence, regard this marvelous-flower prologue as a genuinely Irish incident, which was probably derived from an older Irish *imram*. Needless to say that the story has been worked up into a Christian legend, and the happy otherworld changed to the Land of Promise.

[1] Professor Boaz, in the *Scientific Monthly*, III (1916), 335 f., uses a similar method to localize the origin of folk tales told by North American Indians. He says: "The incidents of tales have a very wide distribution [but] characteristic peculiarities [mark] restricted parts of the territory in which they occur."

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GRAIL ROMANCES

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II. THE DATE OF ROBERT DE BORON'S "METRICAL JOSEPH"[1]

ARTHURIAN scholars are returning more and more to the view that it was Crestien de Troyes who first brought the Grail, as such, into prominence in the story of Perceval the Welshman. Certain it is that Crestien called his romance *Li contes del graal* (compare *Li chevaliers au lyon, Li chevaliers à la charrete*), of which, he says, Count Philip of Flanders gave him the book, *le livre.* We do not know how much of his story Crestien found in this source, but whatever he did find it was he who aroused interest in the Grail.[2]

I do not wish to imply that the Perceval story, before Crestien treated it, did not have ritualistic significance. That such was the case is not only possible but, in view of Jordan's interesting remarks in *ANS, CXXXIII* (1915), 222, it is quite probable. If Jordan be right, then the Perceval story was originally a vengeance tale with matriarchal setting: Perceval, a sister's son, avenges an uncle's death, after passing through a ritual in which that death is barbarously but symbolically represented. Of this stage of the story, the Welsh *Peredur* would, according to Jordan, be a survival—though, again, we must remember that no scholar has had the patience to follow up Miss Williams' meritorious attempt to collate the fourteen MSS of this work,[3] and that, as Miss Williams herself points out, the extant *Peredur* has a French veneer. The *Syr Percyvelle* is also a survival, but while here the story is matriarchal, the maternal uncle is King

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[1] See my first article, "The Date of the *Perlesvaus,*" in *Modern Philology,* XVII (1920), 151 ff.

[2] "The earliest work of the cycle," says Newell in his *Legend of the Holy Grail,* p. 93, "the *Perceval,* is no story of the Grail; the dish belongs to an episode originally incidental."

[3] See Thurneysen, *Zeit. f. celt. Phil.,* VIII, 187; Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXV, 246; Roques, *Rom.,* XXXIX, 383; Golther, *Literaturblatt,* 1910, cols. 286–87.

Arthur and not the enigmatic Fisher-King, who as well as the Grail is lacking in this fourteenth-century romance.[1]

It is not my intention to deal with these questions here. My concern is with the *Metrical Joseph* of Robert de Boron, the date of which I wish to ascertain. But in determining this date, the first problem that arises is whether or not the *Metrical Joseph* could by any chance have been the *livre* which Crestien used and which Foerster, *Wtb*, p. 158,*[2] thinks he used—in an earlier form, no longer extant. Obviously, since we know that Crestien wrote before 1191—the date of Philip of Flanders' death—the *terminus a quo* for the *Metrical Joseph* would hinge on whether it preceded or followed the *Conte del graal*.[3] Let us examine this matter briefly.

Robert's Grail is the *veissel* which served as the cup of the Last Supper in the house of Simon the Leper (vss. 319, 379, 397, 434, and 893); it was used by Joseph of Arimathea to collect the blood of the crucified Savior (vss. 563, 573, 2469, 3056); kneeling before it, Joseph receives instruction from on high; it is compared by Christ with the chalice of the Eucharist (vs. 909); it brings peace to troubled souls but no food to the living (vss. 917, 2563, 2609); it separates the righteous from the sinners (vss. 2569, 2578); it leads to the establishment of a Grail table with a "siege-perilous" (vss. 2492, 2527, 2562); it is said to be derived from *agréer* "to please" (vs. 2660), and it is a proper noun, possibly pronounced Gréal. Above all, it is the relic containing the Holy Blood (vs. 3056: *Men veissel li aporteras, Et ce qui est dedens li di: C'est dou sanc qui de moi issi*), although Robert makes no mention of the "lance" which accompanies the Grail in other versions.

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[1] See R. H. Griffith, *Sir Perceval of Galles* (Chicago dissertation, 1911), favorably reviewed by Brugger, *Zeit. f. frz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLIV (1917), 137–86, and the articles by A. C. L. Brown appearing in *MP*, XVI, 553 ff.

[2] Der älteste, einfachste u. kürzeste unter den Graltexten, u. enthält die für den Kristianischen Gral nötige, aber dort fehlende Gralgeschichte . . . . . Er kennt noch keine Hostie, keine Lanze, er kennt nicht Josef als Bekehrer Englands, kennt keinen Josefe, kennt keinen Artur, er hat nur einen Fischerkönig und der ist nicht krank.

[3] Hofer, *Zeit. rom. Phil.*, XLI (1921), 408–20, has recently suggested that the *Perceval* was written during period of 1179–81, when Philip was regent for the young Philip-Augustus. Since Philip himself was planning to marry Marie de Champagne in 1182 (see A. Cartellieri, *Philipp-August u. Graf Philipp von Flandern* [Leipzig, 1899], p. 39), I am much more inclined to think that it was then that Philip gave Crestien, whose patroness Marie was, the *livre* which served as the poet's source.

On the other hand, according to Crestien, *graal* is a common noun, meaning primarily "dish" or "platter." This word occurs in Medieval Latin in the form *gradalis*, as early as the year 1010,[1] and it is found elsewhere in Old French; for example, in the ten-syllable version of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, vs. 611:

Ersoir mangai o toi a ton graal
Last night I ate with you from your dish.

Crestien gives two, slightly divergent, descriptions of it. In the first (vss. 4410 ff.), the *graal*, which is of pure gold, is carried "uncovered" (*descovert*), past the company at the Fisher-King's castle, at each course of the banquet. It is there preceded by a shining, bleeding lance, and followed by a silver *tailleor* or "plate." It obviously provides food,[2] for Perceval is supposed to ask: *Cui l'an an sert?* In the second account (vss. 7789 ff.), it is said to serve the Fisher-King's father; yet

Tant sainte chose est li graaus
E tant par est esperitaus,
Qu' à sa vie plus ne covient
Que l'oiste qui el graal vient.

So holy a thing is the graal
And so very spiritual,
That for his life no more is needed
Than the wafer which comes in the graal.

This information is given Perceval on Good Friday, by his hermit uncle, and it is significant that the word *oiste* in the foregoing passage is translated by Foerster as "Hostie," which would agree with the term employed in the Roman mass: *hanc immaculatam hostiam.* At the same time, Crestien gives no suggestion that the Grail is connected with the Last Supper or the Crucifixion; he does not mention Joseph of Arimathea; he has nothing to say of a Grail table and its "siege-perilous," and his Grail has no other function than that of keeping alive the Fisher-King's father.[3]

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[1] For discussion and other examples, see my article in *MP*, XIII (1916), 185.

[2] Cf. Gwyddno's *mwys*, A. C. L. Brown, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 242: "If provision for a single person were put into it to keep, a sufficiency of victuals for a hundred persons would be found in it when opened." It did not remain in Britain but was carried beyond the sea, into the house of glass.

[3] See Brown, *op. cit., passim;* also, the same writer in *MP*, XIV (1916), 385–405.

In short, according to Crestien, the Grail, treated as a common noun, is an incident in Perceval's career; whereas, according to Robert, it is a proper noun, a relic of the Crucifixion, whose history Robert is relating.

Previous to Foerster, most scholars[1] therefore believed that it was Crestien who, by a casual reference to the Grail as a *sainte chose* (an explanation given Perceval on Good Friday), gave the impulse to the Christianization of a pagan dish or cup (compare the cups in the *Syr Percyvelle* and the *Elucidation*[2]), and that subsequently Robert wrote up the Christian history of the vessel, in the manner of an *enfances*. Thus, the general conclusion has been that Robert composed the *Metrical Joseph* after 1191. Before attempting to decide this question, it will be well to consider what is known of Robert de Boron.

Who, then, was Robert de Boron? The *Metrical Joseph* mentions him twice, once as Messires Roberz de Beron (vs. 3461), which Suchier considers[3] a Norman form of the name, and again as Meistres

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[1] Nutt, Newell, Paris, and Heinzel. Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, iii, 521, remarks that during the composition of the *Joseph*, Robert became acquainted "mit einem Graalbuche, entweder dem *graal* Crestiens selbst oder dem *livre* desselben." Newell, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 27, says: "After the publication of the *Perceval* of Crestien, curiosity was awakened by the enigmatical manner in which the sacred dish, containing the host, is introduced into his narrative; this interest may have led to various efforts at elucidation. Not long after the appearance of Crestien's work, and while this curiosity was at its height, it occurred to Robert, etc."

[2] For the *Elucidation*, see Potvin, II, vss. 90 ff. The fact that Crestien mentions a "dish" and Robert a "cup" does not seem to me an insuperable difficulty. To be sure, the Bible (Matt. 26:23) says: "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish [*paropsis*], the same shall betray me"; and Newell states that Robert could not have spoken of the dish of Judas as "the vessel in which Christ made his sacrament [396], or as receiving the blood of God." But I do not believe that either Crestien or Robert was so particular. The manner in which Crestien speaks of the Grail, in his last reference, might easily lead to the supposition that he had the Eucharist in mind. Moreover, the word *paropsis*, used by Helinand of the Grail (*de catino vel paropside in quo Deus caenavit cum discipulis suis*), had eucharistic meaning; see Miss Fisher, *Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend*, p. 56, and the reference she gives to Du Cange: "Paropsis. Vas ecclesiae ministriis dedicatum, idem quod *Patena*." Miss Fisher continues (p. 58): "Is it the paten, or small flat dish covering the chalice, is it the chalice itself, is it the ciborium or monstrance? The answer is: any one of them, according to the immediate purpose of the writer or the local usage with which he was familiar." See her discussion; also Heinzel, *Franz. Gralromane*, pp. 5 ff. In any case, it would have been easy for Robert to identify Crestien's "dish" with the "chalice" of the Eucharist, and thence with the cup containing the Holy Blood.

[3] See Suchier's important article in the *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVI (1892), 269–74.

Robers dist de Bouron (vs. 3155), where *Meistres* is doubtless a mistake for *Messires*, which the prose redactions consistently employ. The *Metrical Joseph* is followed in its single extant MS by a fragment of the *Merlin*, but the name of Robert does not occur there. On the other hand, there is an epilogue (vs. 3488) to the *Joseph* in which the poet, referring to further branches (*parties*) of his work, states his belief:

Que nus hons nes puet rassembler
S'il n'a avant oï conter
Dou Graal la plus grant estoire,
Sanz doute, ki est toute voire.

And this is immediately followed by the statement:

A ce tens que je la retreis
O mon seigneur Gautier en peis,
Qui de Mont Belyal estoit,
Unques retreite esté n'avoit
La grant estoire dou Graal
Par nul homme qui fust mortal.

At the time that I related it
With [or "to"] Milord Gautier, in peace,
Who was from Montbéliard,
Never had been related
The great history of the Grail
By any mortal man.[1]

The passage is a crux and has been given various interpretations. Among these, the respective views of Gaston Paris, Suchier, and Newell merit especial attention.

The view of Paris.—According to Gaston Paris and to those who, like Lot (*Étude sur le Lancelot en prose*, pp. 132, ff.) follow in his footsteps, the foregoing lines show that Robert wrote two redactions of his poem. The first redaction was written before 1201, the year that Gautier de Montbéliard left France with the Flemish contingent on the Fourth Crusade (see Villehardouin, *Conqueste de Constantinople,* p. 533, and my first article)—Robert states that he had told the story when he was with Gautier, who *was* from Montbéliard, thus he wrote an earlier redaction before Gautier went on the warlike crusade,[1] from which he never returned. It would follow, then, that the present or second redaction was composed after the departure of Gautier on the crusade, and probably after his death in 1212.[2] The fact that there exists no MS evidence in favor of such a first redaction of the *Joseph* is apparently not considered by either Paris or Lot.

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[1] MSS A and C of the prose redaction (see Weidner, p. xiii) read: "Et au tens que Messires Roberz de Borron lou retraist à mon seigneur Gautier de Monbelliart, ele n'avoit onques esté escripte par nul home."

Birch-Hirschfeld, *Sage vom Gral*, p. 157, translates the verse passage: "Zu der Zeit, wo ich sie behandelte, in Ruhe bei meinem Herrn Gautier von Mont-Belyal, war die grosse Geschichte des Grals noch nie von einem sterblichen Menschen behandelt worden."

Suchier, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.*², p. 138, translates: "Damals, als ich sie mit Herrn Gautier, der von Montbelyal war, in Ruhe erzählte, war die grosse Geschichte des Grals noch von niemand erzählt worden."

Cf. also Gaston Paris, *Journal des savantes*, 1901, p. 708.

Foerster, *Wtb*, p. 167,* translates: "Damals, als ich mit meinem Herrn Walter, der von Montbéliard war (=stammte?), die Gralgeschichte erzählt habe."

As for Robert himself, the theory of Paris, now elaborated by Lot (*loc. cit*), is that he was a native of the village of Boron, at 18 kilometers' distance from Montbéliard in Burgundy. Neither of these scholars goes into the question of Robert's dialectical traits. But Gaston Paris does find it necessary to state (*Huth-Merlin,* I, xi–xii) that

> Robert tombe dans des méprises que n'aurait jamais commises quelqu'un qui aurait connu la Grande-Bretagne autrement que par de très vagues récits. C'est ainsi qu'il fait de Winchester un port de mer [pp. 60, 61] et qu'il prend Logres, le nom d'Angleterre orientale dans Wace et Chrétien de Troyes, pour une ville [pp. 130, 133], qui a un archevêque, et ou se fait le couronnement d'Arthur.[3]

Let it be noted, however, at once that this argument rests on the assumption that the present *Prose Merlin,* to which Paris is referring for his evidence, faithfully represents Robert's metrical work, which is fragmentary in its single extant MS.

The view of Suchier.—Suchier (*op. cit.,* p. 273) does not attempt to contest the theory that Robert's present poem is a second redaction; at the same time, since Suchier makes no mention of the fact in the second edition of his *Französische Literatur*, p. 137, we may assume that he attributes no importance to it or, at least, is unwilling to commit himself to such a theory.

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[1] Lot says: "Comme Robert parle de Gautier au passé et qu'il est évident *à priori* qu'il n'a pu invoquer son témoignage en faveur de l'origine mensongère de son roman que lorsqu'il était sûr de sa discrétion, le *Joseph* se place après le départ de Gautier ... peut-être après sa mort."

[2] "Et sans doute quelque temps après," says Gaston Paris, in the *JdS,* 1901, p. 708.

[3] See also *JdS,* 1901, p. 705.

In regard to Robert de Boron, however, he makes an interesting suggestion. Francisque Michel (*Tristan*, I, ciii) was right, Suchier thinks, in identifying Robert with a certain Robert de Burun mentioned in a document from Essex, England. Thus Robert must have been an Anglo-Norman and not a Frenchman, as is shown by a series of three facts: The first is that Robert rimes *-e* with *-ie*, *racheter* with *enfer*, *fu* with *liu*, and that he uses *mortal* (vs. 3493) as a nominative. These traits, especially the first, would point to England, and not to Lorraine or Burgundy (Montbéliard). Secondly, Robert's poem is concerned with England: the Grail is to go to the *vaus d'Avaron* (vss. 3123, 3221), that is, to Avalon or Glastonbury (see my first article, also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 111); and the historical connections of the work are English. Finally, a Robert de Burun received a gift from Henry II in or about 1186 (see Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 273), and he also made a grant of land in Hertfordshire to the Monastery of Mosteriol (now Montreuil-sur-Mer) in Picardy. Suchier concludes: "Robert soll nun seine Erwähnung des Walter von Mümpelgard nach dessen Abreise im Jahre 1201 geschrieben haben; ich sehe nicht ein, woraus dieses hervorgehen soll." Robert, he thinks, wrote while at leisure (*en peis*, vs. 3490), but whether he saw Gautier in England or in France cannot be determined (*Franz. Lit.*, p. 138).

The view of Newell.—W. W. Newell (*Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 29–30 ff.) doubts the genuineness of the lines we have quoted, but states: "Granting (that Robert wrote before Gautier's departure), it is not clear why it should be presumed that the poem may not have been written many years earlier than 1201, as its relation to the other works of the cycle" would seem to show. And in a final note to his study Newell comes to the conclusion that Robert wrote soon after 1191, this being the earliest date on which the supposed bones of King Arthur were exhumed at Avalon or Glastonbury (see my first article), and, consequently, the first occasion on which anyone would think of Joseph of Arimathea as a British evangelist or of the Grail as being carried to Glastonbury. Newell expresses no opinion as to the identity of Robert de Boron or as to the dialect in which his poem is written. He does, however, say ("Antiquity of Glastonbury," *PMLA*, XVIII [1903], 510) the following:

> Before the end of the twelfth century, an author who calls himself Robert de Boron composed a poem, in which the principal part is played by Joseph of Arimathea, who is the head of a company destined to arrive at Avalon, described, no longer as a distant isle, but as a low-lying and desolate district in the West; such representation can only apply to Glastonbury. The companions of Joseph include twelve nephews; these may answer to the twelve disciples of Philip, who, according to the *De Antiquitate*, founded St. Mary's [see my first article and the reference, there made, to the twelve descendants of Glast, the eponymic founder of the Abbey].

In short, it is Newell's belief that if Robert did write with Glastonbury in mind, this was the reason why he gives Joseph twelve nephews, from one of whom, Alein (vs. 3128), the Grail-keeper was to descend. Thus, we should have another link in the chain of Robert's attachment to England.

It is now possible to formulate several distinct questions with regard to our problem:

1. Did Robert write more than one redaction of his poem?
2. What is the dialect of his poem?
3. What connection has the poem with England?
4. When and for what purpose was the poem written?

In regard to the first question, it is obvious that, since the prose redactions of the *Joseph* (see Weidner, *Der Prosaroman von Joseph von Arimathia, passim*) repeat or elaborate the epilogue on Gautier de Montbéliard, it follows that the epilogue stood in the original from which they were derived. The hypothesis of an earlier, lost redaction thus rests primarily on the statement:

A ce tens que je la retreis,
O monseigneur Gautier en peis,
Qui de Mont Belyal estoit—

in which, be it observed, the *retreis* is a past definite and the imperfect *estoit* has been interpreted as referring "assez naturellement à un personnage défunt [see Paulin Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, I, 113]." That is, those who believe in an earlier redaction interpret the epilogue as saying: "At the time when I related this story to the late Gautier the Great History of the Grail had never been related by any mortal man. But now that it has been. . . . ." Against such an interpretation, however, various objections can be adduced.

First, the past definite *retreis* is equally applicable to a work which an author has just completed; compare Crestien's *Cligès*, vss. 23–24.:

> De la fu li contes estrez
> Don cest roman fist Crestiiens;

and *Guillaume de Dole*, vss. 1–2:

> Cil qui mist cest conte en romans
> Ou il a fet noter biaus chans.

Robert would thus merely be saying: "At the time when I related it to Gautier [he has just related it] never had the Great History of the Grail, namely his own story, been related by any mortal man." Such self-praise is not an uncommon thing in literature; compare Crestien de Troyes or Marie de France.

Secondly, the imperfect *estoit* does not by any means prove that Gautier was deceased when Robert wrote these lines. In that case, the appropriate form would have been *fu*, and not *estoit*. The latter form, however, is easily explained as by attraction to the form *retreis;* just as we should today say: "I told this story to John Smith who was from New York"; whereby we imply no more than that the story was told to a person who is or was from New York.

Thirdly, the expression *O monseigneur Gautier* may mean "to Milord Gautier," for so MSS A and C of the prose redactions interpret it (see Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 147); or it may mean, as Gaston Paris suggests (*JdS*, 1901, p. 705), "in collaboration with Gautier"; compare the lines quoted above:

> Ersoir mangai o toi a ton graal.[1]

Hence, the demands of the case are satisfied if we assume that Robert wrote only one redaction, the present one, for or in collaboration with Gautier, who hailed from Montbéliard, just as Robert hailed, originally at least, from Boron. In any case, it is not necessary to assume that the *Joseph* had an earlier, non-extant form.

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[1] See above, p. 302.

Fourthly, even if we assume that the epilogue is a later addition, made by Robert himself, there is no reason for thinking that it was not written while Gautier was still alive (see Heinzel, p. 113, for the argument).

Coming now to our second question, the dialect of the poem, the chief linguistic traits are as follows:[1]

A. Possible Anglo-Norman traits

1. $\mathrm{AN^C}$ and $\mathrm{EN^C}$ do not rhyme, but there is a small region in southern Lorraine where the usual French $\mathrm{AN^C}$: $\mathrm{EN^C}$ is *not* found; see Suchier, Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 762, n. In any case, the differentiation is a Picard-Wallonian trait (see Gertrud Wacker, *Dialekt u. Schriftsprache im Altfranz.*, p. 51) and is thus not confined to the French of England.

2. IE rhymes with E (*envoier* : *sauver*, vs. 741; *entiere*: *pere*, vs. 1741), but Philipon, *Rom.*, XXXIX, sec. 17, has shown that in Burgundian the "IE is modern," the older forms being such as *rere* Retro, *seent* Sedent; so Goerlich, *Der Burgundische Dialekt*, p. 43. Again the trait is found in Philippe Mousket (1242), who wrote in Tournai, that is in N-E France.

3. The imperfect of the I conjugation, in *-ot*, which Foerster, *Wtb*, p. 168,* regards as "nur pikardisch," is not proved by the rhymes *Ot* Audit : *mandot* (vs. 1253), *Ot* : *quidot* (vs. 3205), for these are to be read (as in the MS) as *Oit* : *mandoit*, *Oit* : *quidoit*. The form *Oit* Audit is proved also for *Richars li Biaus* (N-E), vs. 5837; see Jenkins, *MLN*, XXVI, 151. On the general question of *-ot*, see now Wacker, pp. 74 ff.[2]

4. *Fu* : *lui* (vs. 2483), but Meyer-Lübke, I, sec. 196, points out that this trait is also Picard; see also Goerlich, p. 85, for *liu* in Haute-Marne.

5. *Lui* appears as *li;* so also often in Burgundian, Goerlich, p. 123.

B. Traits which are quite incompatible with Anglo-Norman

1. *Moie* : *joie* (vs. 3397), and *lignie* (instead of *ligniée*) : *mie* (vs. 307). The latter trait, which is described by Suchier-Couson,

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[1] I owe the ensuing analysis mainly to my colleague and friend, Professor Jenkins, of the University of Chicago.

[2] As for the rhyme *racheter* : *enfer*, no more importance is to be attached to it than to Malherbe's rhyme of *enfer* : *philosopher;* see Tobler, *Vers français*, p. 156.

Aucassin, p. 74, as "à la fois picard, wallon et lorrain," occurs also in Renaut de Beaujeu; see Wacker, p. 73, and especially Goerlich, pp. 16–17, who treats its occurrence in Franche-Comté.

2. *Sons*<Sumus in rhyme (vs. 2391), of which, says Meyer-Lübke, II, 281, "l'Est est le domaine préféré."

3. *Fieus*<Filius (vs. 2848), which is found in Haute-Saone (Goerlich, p. 103), although according to Suchier-Couson, p. 74, the form is also found in the N-E.

4. *Veïns* (vs. 3577), for *veïmes*, which is characteristic of Wallonian and the East (Meyer-Lübke, II, 350, and Nyrop, II, sec. 169, 4).

5. *-s* and *-z* rhyme, *neveus* : *vieus* (vs. 2891); compare *Aucassin et Nicolette, passim.* Crestien has seven such rhymes, the trait is common in Burgundian; see Goerlich, p. 113, and, in general, Wacker, p. 69.

6. The unusual *ju* Ego : *Jhesu* (vs. 1347) is found in Wallonian (see Wilmotte, *Rom.*, XVIII, 216), and is traced by Goerlich (p. 122) as far south as the town of Joinville.

It is obvious from this analysis that the dialect of the *Joseph* is not, as Suchier supposed, Anglo-Norman. It is possible that Foerster is right in maintaining (*Wtb*, p. 168*) "Grunddialekt scheint pikardisch zu sein," for, as he also observes, MS F of the prose redactions states at the end of the *Merlin:* "Redigée de picard en franzoys." At the same time, this last statement seems to me to fall in with the view, expressed by Miss Wacker (dissertation, pp. 27 ff.), that about 1200 the current literary speech had become Francien-Picard. "Seit dem Anfang des XIII Jahrhunderts," she says, "beginnt sich in den belgo-romanischen Städten des französischen Nordostens ein neues Literaturzentrum zu bilden. Es macht sich ein Hervortreten zahlreicher pikardischer Dichtungen bemerkbar." Many of the poets inaugurating the movement still differentiate AN^{C} and EN^{C}, they rhyme *-s* and *-z*, and they use *-ie* instead of *-iée*. Generally speaking, the poet of the *Joseph* may have belonged to the group. For the monk Helinand belonged to it, and we know that Helinand was a favorite of Philip of Flanders (from 1182–85), and interested himself in the Grail.[1] In particular, however, the dialect of the *Joseph* shows no traits that are incompatible with the northern part of

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[1] See *MP*, XIII, 681.

Doubs, the eastern section of the Haute-Saone, the territory surrounding Montbéliard. Hence it follows, that, as regards dialect, Robert de Boron may well have been a native of the village of Boron, which lies 18 kilometers northeast of Montbéliard. That is, he wrote in an East-French dialect and not in Anglo-Norman.

As regards our third point, it may be said at once that the geographical evidence which the poem presents is not decisive. To be sure, the Grail is to be brought to the *vaus d'Avaron,* where it is to be intrusted to the son of Alein, who can scarcely be other than Perceval. The *vaus d'Avaron* must be the *vallis Avallonis* or Glastonbury; and no one without a definite knowledge of the Glastonbury documents, especially the 1191 "recast" of William of Malmesbury and its description of the place as *quandam insulam silvis, rubis, atque paludibus circumdatam,* would use the terms employed by the poem; namely,

En la terre vers Occident,
Ki est sauvage durement,
Es vaus d' Avaron m' en irei.

So, too, the poet not only makes Joseph of Arimathea accountable for the coming of the Grail to England but he has the Grail given to the son of Alein—an obvious Welsh or Breton name—and he further states that the Rich Fisher[1] is Bron or Hebron, who has been identified by Nutt with Bran the Blessed of Welsh legend. This particular identification, I shall discuss fully in another place; suffice it to say now that Nutt's theory seems to me more acceptable than the hypothesis of Heinzel[2] that the form *Bron* is due to a misunderstanding of the Latin *mulier Veronica,* translated into the French *femme de Vrone,* whence *Bron*[3] as the name of the husband. However that may be—and herewith we exhaust the evidence to be drawn from the poem—there is no proof in the *Joseph* itself that the poet was or was not an inhabitant of England. He had, I believe, an acquaintance with Welsh and Glastonbury traditions; he may even have seen Glastonbury for, like the author of the *Perlesvaus,* he knows of the valley at the foot of the Tor. But, at best, his descriptions are extremely vague and may well have been based on hearsay or on written records.

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[1] Cf.
Dont furent puis meintes paroles
Contees, ki ne sunt pas foles

a probable reference to Crestien's *Conte del graal;* see vs. 7791, *Et del rice Pesceour croi,* and compare Newell, *Legend,* p. 23.

[2] Heinzel, p. 97; see Nutt, *Studies,* pp. 219 ff., and A. C. L. Brown, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers,* p. 244.

[3] Robert gives Hebron as a variant of *Bron;* the former name is at least biblical, see Exod. 6:14: "And the sons of Kohath: Amram and Izhar, and Hebron and Uzziel."

At the same time, there is also nothing in the *Joseph,* or the verse portion of the *Merlin,* to disprove that Robert de Boron was in England. For the objections adduced by Gaston Paris are, first of all, based on the *Prose Merlin,* for which, as I have said, there is extant no text in verse; and, secondly, they do not in themselves disprove a knowledge of England. The first of these objections relates to the passage in which Vortigern's rivals are said to land at the port of Winchester; to wit, *Et saches que arriveront d'ui en trois mois au port de Winchester.* Wace, *Brut* (based on Geoffrey of Monmouth), vs. 7748, has them arrive at *Totenois* (Totness). Now, to be sure, the port of Winchester is Southampton, as stated by Crestien de Troyes in his *Cligès,* vs. 291, and *passim.* Nevertheless, the author of the *Prose Merlin* may easily have considered the expression *port de Winchester* as sufficiently clear without the explanation that of course he had Southampton in mind; and accuracy as to geography is the last thing for which we can hold a poet accountable. Gaston Paris' second objection is even less valid. The *Prose Merlin,* he says, uses the name *Logres,* properly applied to England, as the name of a city. This is certainly true of the MS which Paris used for his edition. But, if we turn to Sommer's text (London, 1894), we find that where the *Huth-Merlin,* I, 133, reads "*Et au Noel en vint à Logres aussi conme li autre et amena avuec lui ses deus fieus,* etc.," the Sommer text, p. 85, reads, "*A la tous sains si lamena à Londres avuec lui et Artus ausi,* etc." In short, what has happened is obviously this: The original scribe wrote *Lōdres,* and in one or two cases this form has been preserved, in others, however, it was replaced by *Logres,* through mere carelessness, due to the fact that *Logres* actually followed *Lōdres* in a number of passages, such as *à Lōdres en Logres;* that is, "at London in England." Hence, to conclude this lengthy argument, it follows that the evidence does not disprove that our Robert knew

England; while the theory that he resided in England rests on his interest in British, presumably Welsh tradition, and the further circumstance that documents, adduced by Suchier, mention a Robert de Burun as a contemporary of Henry II, king of England. There presumably were, close to 1200, several persons of the name Robert de Boron; if we do not grant this supposition, then we must assume that our Robert de Boron went to England to live.

This brings us to our fourth and last point, in the consideration of which I can do little more now than summarize the facts given above and conclude with a suggestion.

It is evident, I believe, that the Robert de Boron, who wrote for Gautier de Montbéliard, was originally a Burgundian: this is shown by the proximity of the town of Boron to Montbéliard and by the fact that the *Joseph* reveals Burgundian dialect traits. Robert must have written his poem after 1191 (the *terminus a quo*), since his plan is obviously to explain on an ecclesiastical, Christian basis the Grail and its keeper, the Rich-Fisher; details which Crestien had not explained. Further, he wrote after 1191, because he is acquainted with the Glastonbury "recast" of about that date. But he completed the work before 1201, for he speaks of himself and Gautier as at peace (*en peis*), and we know positively that Gautier sailed with the Flemish contingent for the Orient (Fourth Crusade) in 1201. There is, as we have seen, no valid reason to place the composition of the poem *after* Gautier's death; in fact, to date it later than 1201 would remove it too far from Crestien's *Conte del graal*, which it serves to elucidate, and would also make it posterior to the *Perlesvaus*, of which it was one of the sources.[1] Thus, we may conclude that the *Metrical Joseph* was written between 1191 and 1201.

Where the poem was written, however, remains doubtful. The locality can hardly have been Montbéliard or Robert would not have said, *qui de Montbelyal estoit.* Moreover, in 1183, as Birch-Hirschfeld (p. 239) has pointed out, Gautier succeeded his father as Count of Montfoucon (see the *Signal de Montfoucon*, with the ruins of a château of the same name, on the road from Montbéliard to Besançon), and this fact may have prompted Robert's remark. In any case, to suppose that the poem was written in England would presuppose that Robert had gone there to live—a possibility which I am ready to grant; but it would also assume that Gautier had followed him thither, an idea that is more difficult to believe. On the whole, I am inclined to think that the work was composed close to the frontier of Flanders. My reasons for saying so are these:

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[1] See my dissertation, p. 39, and Brugger's remark, *ZfS*, XXIX (1905), 78: "Nitze hat aber zudem direkte Benutzung des *Joseph* im *Perlesvaus* nachgewiesen."

1. Crestien's *Conte del graal* was based on a *livre* given him by Philip of Flanders.
2. Wauchier de Denain continued Crestien's incomplete work for Joanna of Flanders.
3. Manessier completed Crestien's work for Joanna.
4. MS B of the *Perlesvaus* is dedicated to Jean de Nesle, who was Castellan of Bruges.
5. Gautier de Montbéliard went on the Fourth Crusade with the Flemish contingent.

It requires, therefore, no stretch of the imagination to assume that Robert de Boron and Gautier had close connections with Flanders, possibly with the Flemish court.

I make this concluding statement only as a suggestion. At the same time it may be a fruitful one, since thus would be explained why Robert should write a work so closely linked, on the one hand, with Crestien's *Conte del graal*, and, on the other, with the prose *Perlesvaus* —a work in which Robert has united Celtic and Christian legends in an attempt to explain that the Grail is the cup with which Joseph of Arimathea caught the Savior's blood and that therefore it is "holy." Let us not forget that the Chapelle du Saint-Sang, in Bruges, dates from 1150, and that Bruges was, in the twelfth century, the Venice of the North, directly opposite England.

With these Flemish connections of the Grail legend, I hope to deal in a later article.

EARLY ALPHABETICAL INDEXES

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The first apograph of the *Genealogia deorum* of Boccaccio was made late in 1370 or early in 1371, and the multiplication of MS copies began immediately thereafter.[1] Before many years passed, three alphabetical indexes to the *Genealogia* were made: one, the most notable, by Domenico Bandini of Arezzo; one by Matteo d'Orgiano, and one by an unknown compiler.[2]

Bandini's Index appears in at least five MSS of the *Genealogia*—those numbered 61, 65, 69, and 83 in Hortis' list, and the University of Chicago MS[3]—and in all of the first seven editions of the complete Latin text of the *Genealogia.*[4]

Bandini's Index was compiled at the request of Coluccio Salutati.[5] The Chicago MS of the *Genealogia* was owned and used by Coluccio. The Chicago MS is then in all probability the most authoritative MS of Bandini's Index.[6]

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[1] H. Hauvette, *Boccace*, Paris, 1914, pp. 414, 444–48; A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 220-27, 388, 919–23; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Brunswick, 1902, p. 97, n. 1.

[2] Hortis, pp. 222–27, 769–83, 919–23.

[3] I shall discuss this MS in detail in a forthcoming monograph, in which I shall show that the MS was owned and used by Coluccio Salutati, and that it was written certainly in the period 1371–1405, and probably in the period 1376–95.

[4] Hortis, pp. 223–24, 929. Hortis, p. 224, refers to the Index in his No. 61 as a compendium of the Index by Bandini; but a comparison of the entries printed by Hortis, pp. 224–25, with the entries of the Index in the Chicago MS shows that the Index in No. 61 contains all the entries of the original form of the Index. Abbreviations occur only in the wording of certain entries. Micyllus, the editor of the eighth and last edition of the *Genealogia* (Basle, 1532), made a new alphabetical index for that edition. The relationship of the several editions of the *Genealogia* is treated in my article, "The Genealogy of the Editions of the *Genealogia deorum*," in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1915), 425.

[5] See the Prefaces quoted below, pp. 316 and 317.

[6] See above, n. 3. Of the other four MSS known to contain Bandini's Index, one (Hortis 61) was written in or before 1406, and another (Hortis 65) at some time in the fifteenth century. I have no means of ascertaining the date of the other two.

In the Chicago MS the Index occupies ff. 185*v*–217*v*. It has the following heading:

Incipit tabula per alphabetum super libris de Geanealogia deorum gentilium compositis per clarissimum uirum et presisbyterum[1] dominum Johannem boccaccium de Certaldo ciuem florentinum edita per egregium triuij doctorem magistrum Dominicum de Aretio. Rubrica.

The Index contains in all 1,959 entries. The alphabetization is correct through the second letter of each entry; usually, though not always, through the third; and often through later letters. Medial *i* and *y* stand together in the position of *i*. Initial *I* and *Y* are separated, each standing in its proper place. *I* serves as initial in place of *J*, and *V* serves as initial in place of *U*. The first ten entries are as follows:

Abaster unus equorum plutonis libro. viij°. c vj

Abbas filius lini ex ypermestra. libro ij°. c. xxviiij.

Abilam et calpem promontoria hyspanie uocat columnas herculis. li. x. in prohemio. Idem ponitur. li. xiij. c.j°.

Abylam a calpe diuisit hercules et intromisit mare. li. vij. c. xiij.

Abraam existente puero cepere proceres dici dei. li. primo. in prohemio.

Absyrthius seu Egialeus laniatur a Medea sorore dum fugiebat cum Iasone. li. iiij. c. xij. Idem dicitur. c. xiij.

Accha laurentia uxor faustuli pastoris que dicebatur lupa Romulum nutriuit. et Rhemum. li. c. xl. xlj.

Acidalia venus est. li. iij. c. xxij.

Accidas cura dicitur. li. iij. c. xxij.

Acidalius fons est sacer veneri in orchomeno ciuitate ubi se lauant gratie li. v. c. xxxiiij.

In two of the other MSS known to contain Bandini's Index (Hortis 65 and 69), it is preceded by the following Preface:

Memoria thesaurus delitiarum in homine, quo nil maius Divum pater atque hominum rex tribuere potuit immortalium animabus, rerum multitudini ac temporum successioni succumbit, nisi sibi capax omnium scriptura succurrerat longum duratura per evum. Nec scriptura ipsa presto est, nec super quesita venit, nisi certo regatur ordine magna industria conquisito, docente Boetio, primo *de Consolatione:* quod certum desinit ordinem letos non habet exitus. Nec mirum, quia si mihi cetera percurrenti efficax est iudicium, universi celi machina, cuncta elementorum series, et quecunque ab his profluunt, certo ordine reguntur et conservantur. Hac igitur norma excitus ego Dominicus de Aretio presens opus pro mea multorumque utilitate confeci, reducens sub ordine alfabetico quecunque sunt in universo volumine *Geneologiarum gentilium deorum* a Johanne Boccatij vate celeberrimo ex multis ac pene infinitis antiquorum et modernorum testimoniis compilato. Quod quidem sic semper est utile ac semper memorie commendandum, ita sui prolixitate infinitarumque rerum structure, ac sepius inauditarum memorie obviabit, quamobrem ratus sum ut huius adminiculo mee tabule illius concreta moles ac prolixitas regeretur, nec michi gravis, fastidiosus iste labor est, susceptus spe alia, hortante, monente, cogente, ac me repellente verius Colutio Pierio. Cuius scientiarum abissus, ingenium ac mores digni sunt, ut maria terrasque regant. Sed de ipso dicetur pluries et uberies, loco et tempore decentiori, et in eo *Fonte memorabilium universi.* Nunc autem ille mea vota fecundet deus, qui solus implere potest voluntates creaturarum omnium.[1]

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[1] *presisbum̄* in the MS. This heading was written by the illuminator, not by the scribe. The illuminator misspelled even the title of the work, as the transcript of the heading shows; and was careless in the location of his signs of abbreviation, writing *dnum̄* for *dominum*. The *presisbum̄* unquestionably represents *presisbyterum*, itself an error for *presbyterum*. This application of the term *presbyterum* to Boccaccio constitutes in itself strong evidence that Boccaccio did actually take orders—a fact long debated and established only a few years since (see Hauvette, pp. 440–41).

Bandini's Index appears in the first edition of the *Genealogia* (Venice, 1472), and is thence reprinted in the six following editions. In the printed form, the Index is preceded by the following Preface:

QVia istud opus genealogiae deorum gentilium est adeo prolixum: ut Rubricae ad unum ut supra patet in principio locum reducte etiam per se uolumen uideantur efficere. Ideo uolenti alicuius historiam seu fabulam inuenire etiam in rubricis est ualde difficile: nisi quasi omnes legantur. Idcirco ut quesitor possit quod querit reperire facilius super ipsa tabula rubricarum per alphabetum est infrascripta alia tabula ordinata: quae sicut ipse rubricae sunt totius operis repertorium: ita aeque erit ista repertorium rubricarum: quanquam etiam posset ad totum opus referri per quam tabulam per alphabetum compositam: littera a qua incipit nomen eius: cuius historia queri contigerit perscrutata: in quo libro nomen et hystoria sic poterit faciliter reperiri: quo tam faciliter reperto se ad rubricarum tabulam referendo cito inuenietur quod queritur. Quod quidem opus assumpsi ad instantiam insignis viri. Colutii pieri Cancellarii florentini. Ego dominicus de aretio grammaticae atque rhetoricae doctor atque professor deo dante sic incipiam ut infra sequitur.[2]

The number of entries in the printed form of the Index is the same, or very nearly the same, as in the Chicago MS, but the order of entries is quite different. The alphabetization is still correct through the second letter, but it is not so often correct through later letters. The first ten entries appear in the following order:

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[1] Hortis, pp. 223–24.

[2] Ed. of 1472, f. 259*v*.

Abas, Abraam, Absirtus, Abilam et calpem, Abilam a calpe, Abaster, Acca laurentia, Accidalia, Accidas, Accidalius.

Errors of many sorts occur in the Index as printed. The article *Acis,* for instance, is twice inserted, once under *Acis* and once under *Acys.* In the article *Accestes,* the name *eneam* appears as *Siera.* In the article *Achilles,* the name *deydamia* appears as *dyana.* In the article *Abraam,* the word *puero* appears as *picero.*

Bandini was born at Arezzo about 1340. Early in 1374 he went to Bologna, and there taught rhetoric. On June 20, 1376, he was called to Florence to teach Latin: whether or not he accepted we do not know. There are extant eight letters written by Coluccio to Bandini. The first is dated July 14, 1377; the second, November 11, 1377; the third, August 4, 1378 (the other five date from the years 1400–1403). On these dates, therefore, Bandini was not in Florence. In 1378 and in the period 1380–82, he taught at Bologna. In 1382, he came to Florence, and there he taught until 1399 or 1400. He then retired to Arezzo, where he lived on at least to the age of seventy-eight years.[1]

His main work was a huge encyclopedia called *Fons memorabilium universi,* which is extant in at least three MSS. The work is divided into five parts, and each part into several books. Part V, Book I, entitled "De viris claris virtute aut vitio," contains a laudatory biography of Coluccio Salutati. The composition of the *Fons* was begun in 1374 or earlier, and lasted into Bandini's old age. We do not know the date of its completion. The composition of the biography of Coluccio contained in the *Fons* is assigned by Novati, on strong though not conclusive evidence, to the period 1388–90.[2]

Since the first apograph of the *Genealogia* was made late in 1370 or early in 1371, the earliest possible date for Bandini's Index is 1371.

[1] L. Mehus, in Ambrosius Traversarius, *Epistolae,* Florence, II (1759), cxxix–cxxxix; F. Novati, in Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario,* Rome, 1891–1911, 4 vols., *passim:* see Novati's Index, IV, 627, *s.v.* "Bandino"; A. F. Massèra, "Le più antiche biografie del Boccaccio," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* XXVII (1903), 320–23. Novati planned to write a monograph on Bandini (see I, viii), but did not live to carry out his plan.

[2] Mehus, pp. cxxxii–cxxxv; Novati, IV, 501–8, and *passim* elsewhere; Massèra, p. 322.

And since the Index is contained in the Chicago MS, which was written not later than 1405, the latest possible date for the Index is 1405. It is highly probable that Bandini and Coluccio first came into relationship in 1376. Coluccio came to Florence in 1374, and became chancellor in 1375.[1] Bandini, as has been said, was called to Florence on June 20, 1376. He was certainly acquainted with Coluccio before July 14 of the following year, when Coluccio wrote to him. From the next to last sentence in the first Preface quoted above, it is highly probable that the Index was made before Bandini wrote the biography of Coluccio which appears in the *Fons*. It is highly probable, as has just been stated, that that biography was written in the period 1388–90. It is then highly probable that Bandini's Index was compiled within the period 1376–90.

The Index of Matteo d'Orgiano appears in at least five MSS (Hortis 64, 69, 71, 72, and 80). The alphabetization is correct only through the first letter, the order of entries under each letter being the order of textual occurrence. Each entry consists of a single name, with book, chapter, and leaf numbers. The first ten entries are in the following order:

> Atropos, Antheus, Amor, Apis, Antholius, Antholia, Amimone, Abas, Acrisius, Athlanta.[2]

This Index is accompanied, in one of the MSS (Hortis 72), by the following letter:

> *Ad virum egregium Pasquinum de Capellis, meritum illustris excellentisque principis et domini domini Virtutum comitis etc. Suus Matheus de Orglano vicentinus.*
>
> Genealogie deorum gentilium, vir insignis, sicuti a viro eloquentissimo et poetarum scrutatore prestantissimo Johanne Bochacio de Certaldo disseritur in laudedigno codice suo quem novissime condidit inque libros divisit quindecim, tabulam secundum ordinem alphabeti condere nunc aggredior: opus siquidem impeditum et perplexum potiusque tedioso labore implicitum quam facunda subtilitate conspicuum. Hoc ipsum etenim tuis exquirentibus votis ymmo iussis satisfacere cupidus, tue eminenti prudentie destinare proposui, presertim animadvertens eundem codicem nuper a te mihi tua gratia commodatum dum perlegerem, hac sine tabula similem fore viro ceco de die lucis sine baculo aut Argo sine lumine in tenebris ambulanti. Opus igitur istud, vir colende, qualequale fuerit baculi vicem seu luminis quoad

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[1] Novati, IV, 387.

[2] Hortis, pp. 225–27.

poterit obtinebit, et pro ingenii viribus fructum afferet. Ut ergo fastidiose exquisitionis perplexitas evitetur, et labor dispersa confusaque hinc inde deorum ipsorum nomina inveniendo, talem in dicendi seriem breviter observabo. Nam si quando nomen dei alicuius in ipso codice quis sataget reperire ad illud per priores aligorismales figuras et ante deorum ipsorum nomina in tabula ipsa contitutas quoto in libro, per posteriores vero et post nomina eadem positas, primas videlicet quoto capitulo, secundas autem quota cartha codicis pretacti fuerit, valebit se celeritur faciliterque referre. Cuicumque ergo singulo deorum gentilium ut arbitror indaganti hec explicita et mente percepta quotitatem librorum capitulorumque et cartharum eodem in codice ut prefertur indicabunt, eumque ad litus optatum referent commodius et facilius exportabunt. Vale vir optime.[1]

Matteo d'Orgiano was chancellor of the Este in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Pasquino Capelli was secretary of the Visconti, first of Galeazzo, who died in 1378, and then of Gian Galeazzo, who was commonly called the Conte di Vertù.[2]

Matteo's Index to the *Genealogia* must have been compiled within the period 1378–87. The letter in which he addresses Pasquino as servant of the Conte di Vertù must be subsequent to the death of Galeazzo; and one of the apographs in which the Index of Matteo is contained (Hortis 72) bears the marginal note "explicui legere 1388. XXI. Jan."[3]

The third Index, by an unknown compiler, appears in at least four MSS (Hortis 76, 77, 81, and 85). The alphabetization is correct through the second letter. The first ten entries are in the following order:

Abante, Absirto, Acrisio, Acheronte, Acheloo, Aceste, Aci, Acasto, Acheo, Achimenide.[4]

This Index must have been compiled within the period 1371–1400: the earliest of the four MSS (Hortis 76) dates from the end of the fourteenth century.[5]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 225–26.

[2] See Hortis, *M. T. Cicerone nelle opere del Petrarca e del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1878, pp. 91–98, and the references there given.

[3] Hortis, *Studj*, p. 921. Three of the other MSS (Hortis 64, 71, and 80) date from the fifteenth century. I have no means of ascertaining the date of the remaining MS (Hortis 69).

[4] Hortis, *Studj*, pp. 227, 922. Each name is preceded by the preposition *de*.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 921; L. Delisle, "Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Victor conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 14232–15175," in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXX (1869), 43 (No. 14636). The other three MSS date from the fifteenth century.

These three indexes as a group, and in particular the Index of Bandini, as the most notable of the three, are of special interest as being among the earliest alphabetical indexes of which we have record.

In spite of a considerable search and many inquiries, I have not succeeded in finding a statement as to when the making of alphabetical indexes began.[1] The principle of alphabetical arrangement was known as early as the Augustan age, when Verrius Flaccus arranged in alphabetical order the entries in his lexicon *De verborum significatu;*[2] but the alphabetical index, properly so called, seems to date from the end of the Middle Ages.

The earliest alphabetical index of which I have knowledge is an index of the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius, made in 1332. This index occupies the first sixteen leaves of MS 694 of the Library of Tours, and ends with the following *explicit:*

> Explicit tabula super libris Boetii de Consolatione philosophie, secundum ordinem alphabeti, quam fecit frater Vitalis de Fontibus Orb[is], ordinis Predicatorum, anno Domini M°CCC°XXXII°.[3]

Although I have made a cursory examination of several catalogues of MSS, I have not found mention of any other alphabetical index which is certainly earlier than the indexes of the *Genealogia.*

Toynbee says, with regard to the *Derivationes* of Uguccione of Pisa:

> Uguccione, unfortunately, did not adopt the alphabetical order, except to a very limited extent, in the arrangement of his work. . . . . This inconvenience is to a certain extent obviated by the addition in some MSS, by way of appendix, of a list of words arranged roughly in alphabetical order, with cross references.[4]

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[1] Hortis, *Studj*, p. 225, referring to the form of the Index of Bandini contained in his No. 61, which was written by Tedaldo della Casa (*fl.* 1371–1409) says: "E non solo per le opere boccaccesche ma per molti altri autori Tedaldo compilò queste *tabulae*, sicchè e' fu considerato dal Mehus per uno de' primi che usò questo diligenza." This statement is not justified, however, by anything in Mehus' account of Tedaldo, *op. cit.*, pp. cccxxxiv–cccxxxxvi. The *tabulae* there referred to seem to be compendiums rather than alphabetical indexes.

[2] W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (6th ed., Leipzig, 1910), Vol. II, sec. 261, p. 3. I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor E. K. Rand.

[3] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements, Vol. XXXVII (=Tours, Vol. I), Paris, 1900, p. 556. I owe this reference also to the kindness of Professor Rand.

[4] P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, p. 101, n. 6.

Such lists appear in two fourteenth-century MSS of the *Derivationes* described in catalogues accessible to me. A list, which occupies apparently thirteen leaves, appears in MS 853 of the Library of Tours;[1] and a list, which occupies apparently seven leaves, appears in MS II, I, 2 (Magl. Cl. I. 70) of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence.[2]

An alphabetical index, with the heading "Qui innanzi scriveremo l'alfabeto di questa cronacha," occupies the first sixteen leaves of a fourteenth-century MS of the *Cronaca* of Giovanni Villani, MS II, I, 114 (C, 3, 1180) of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence.[3]

The second Preface to Bandini's Index quoted above and the letter of Matteo d'Orgiano both contain passages which attempt to explain the use of an alphabetical index, and thereby indicate that such indexes were novel.

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[1] See the volume cited in the next to last note, p. 624.

[2] G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Forlì, VIII (1898), 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

ZUR FRAGE NACH DER PORTUGIESISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNG VON GOWERS *CONFESSIO AMANTIS*

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Confision del Amante por Joan Goer, spanische Übersetzung von John Gowers *Confessio Amantis;* aus dem Vermächtnis von Hermann Knust nach der Handschrift im Escorial herausgegeben von Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1909. So der titel des werkes, mit dem ich mich auf den folgenden blättern ein wenig beschäftigen will.

Das inhaltsverzeichnis der Escorialhs. G II, 19 beginnt wie folgt: (*e*)*ste libro es llamado confisyon del amante el qual cō puso jū goer natural del rreyno de ynglalaterra E fue tornado en lenguaje portogues por rroberto paym natural del dicho Reyno E canonjgo de la çibdad de lixboa E despues fue sacado en lenguaje castellano por jū de cuenca vesjno de la çibdad de huete* . . . . Sowohl über den ersten wie den zweiten übersetzer fehlen bestimmte angaben. Ist das uns vorliegende werk wirklich eine übersetzung aus dem portugiesischen? Die frage ist berechtigt; denn die portugiesische version ist sonst nicht bezeugt, und man weiss, dass eine behauptung wie die obige nicht immer ernst zu nehmen ist. Die behauptung wäre erwiesen, wenn man genügend lusismen aus dem spanischen werk beibringen könnte. Ich übergehe *vento* 88,22, *desperto* 187,8; 481,24, *Ben* 329,27; *frecha* 111,33 und manches andere; auch fälle von interpolazion wie *Por ende aquel señor* . . . . *que enderesca en este mundo aquello por que se los onbres de verdaderos coraçones amen* 4,12 etc. Das alles könnte das werk eines westlichen[1] schreibers sein. Ich wende mich zum wortschatz, wo ich auf festerem grund zu stehen meine, und bemerke vorweg, dass die unten besprochenen wörter in den mir zugänglichen spanischen wörterbüchern (Covarrubias

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[1] Wagner, *Rom. Rev.*, II, 460, denkt an einen aragonesen. Allein die *estralabio, prohesa, fuiga, planto, tallada, esviar* lassen sich auch im westen belegen. Nur *devantar* kenne ich dort nicht. Andererseits sprechen die fälle von interpolazion gegen Aragon.

1673/4, *Dicc. Aut.*, Terreros, Salva ^{11}, Ac. ^{13}) entweder ganz fehlen oder doch in der bedeutung, die an der betreffenden stelle die einzig passende ist. Folgendes sei hier zu gunsten eines portugiesischen originals dem leser unterbreitet:

alquer. 254,7 *de los anillos de oro . . . . fincho* (sc. Anibal) *siete alqueres.* G[1] V 2204 *of goldringes Buisshelles fulle thre*[2] . . . . *He felde.*—Gloss.: "*alquer* fanega (alquez)." Wie immer das verstanden sein soll, *fanega* und *alquez* bedeuten nicht dasselbe; *alquer* und *alquez* sind etymologisch verschieden, und endlich ist *alquer* nicht spanisch. Moraes^{7}: "Alquèire . . . . Medida de grãos: seis alqueires fazem um sacco, e sessenta alqueires um moio . . . ."

apoquentado. 403,25 *Estonçes el cavallero apoquentado su estado dixo: . . . .* G VII 2124 *and thanne he* (sc. the kniht) *lasseth, ...* —Gloss.: "*apoquentado* apocar (apoquecer) acortar." Moraes: "Apouquentádo[3] . . . . Opprimido, extenuado; v.g. viver apouquentado; i.é., ralado por falta de meios."

arco de las viejas. 237, 1 *el arco de las viejas es su mensajero.* G V 1185 *The reinbowe is hir Messager.*—Gloss.: "*arco de las viejas* (port. arco da velha) arco iris." Munthe, *Anteckn.* 58: "*el arcu de la biecha* regnbågen (i Villaoril hörde jag äfven *el a. de las biechas*, samt vidare vid dubbelbåge *el a. de las mozas* = den starkare, den svagare som förut). [gal. pg. *arco da velha* id.]" Moraes: "Arco iris, ou vulg.—da velha . . . ."[4]

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[1] Gower, *The Complete Works* (ed. . . . . by G. C. Macaulay), II–III (1901).

[2] Das wären 108 l., und "siete alqueres" wären 96, 6 l. Ein englisches mass um 1400 so annähernd genau durch ein portugiesisches mass wiederzugeben, dazu dürfte bekanntschaft mit den beiden massen aus persönlicher anschauung nötig gewesen sein. Das passt zu der nachricht über den ersten übersetzer.

Wohl die früheste erwähnung der sage in spanischer sprache ist Prim. Crón. Gen. 18 a 14 *enuio* (sc. Annibal) *a Affrica tres moyos de sortijas doro.* Ebenso 44 b 53. Leider gehen die angaben der wörterbücher über *moyo* weit auseinander, und über die masse der älteren zeit fehlen mir die hilfsmittel.

[3] Erwähnt von Meyer-Lübke, *Gr.*, II §592, zusammen mit anderen portugiesischen verben mit dem suffix *entare.* Darunter *enriquentar*, das auch als spanisch aufgeführt wird. In den wörterbüchern steht es nicht. Wofern Meyer-Lübke für span. *enriquentar* nicht andere beispiele hat als ich, nämlich Villasandino (*CBaena* [1851] 110 a) *enrryquentado* und Garci Ferrandes (*CBaena* 620 a) *enrriquintar* (in einem galizischen lied), wird es zu streichen sein.

[4] Warum *da velha* etc.? Ich habe in *Mélusine*, *Zeitschr. Ver. Volksk.*, *Rev. trad. pop.*, Sébillot vergeblich nach einer erklärung gesucht.

besouro. 77,18 *Este tal* (sc. el falso enbidioso) *es semejante a un ave*[1] *que llaman besonero.* G II 413 *Lich to the Scharnebudes kinde.* —Gloss: "*besonero* port. besouro (Hirschkäfer, span. escarabajo cornuto) hier für altfr. (aengl.) escharbote (Mistkäfer)." Munthe 61: "*buetṣouru* (i.e., buey ṭṣouru) Vi. syrsa. [Jfr. gal. pg. *vacaloura* ekoxe.]" Moraes: "Besòuro . . . . Insecto (Scarabæus stridulus.) . . . . " L. *besouro.*[2]

bugio. 295,29 *E conteçio asi que en aquel lugar avia un ximio e una serpiente que avian caido en*[3] *el bugio. Commo vido venir la soga, salto de donde estava e asiose a la soga, e Bardus sacolo luego fuera.* G V 4993 *Bot it was tho per chance falle, Into that pet was also falle An Ape, which at thilke throwe, Whan that the corde cam doun lowe, Al sodeinli therto he skipte . . . .*

—Gloss.: "bugio hoyo, agujero (it. bugio)." Aber *bugio* für "grube" ist weder span. noch port. Sehen wir, wie *pet* sonst wiedergegeben ist. Es entspricht z.b. G I 1908 *in the pitt*—CA 47,31 *en tan alto* ***peligro.*** G I 2981 *of the welles brinke Or of the pet or of the slowh*—CA 64, 12 *en los charcos e* ***pielagos*** *fondos e susios.* G V 1115 *the depe Pettes tuo Of helle the most principal*—CA 235,32 *dos* ***peligros*** *prinçipales del ynfierno.* G V 1122 *On of the pettes*—CA 236, 4 *uno de aquellos* ***peligros*** *del ynfierno.* G V 4043 *Tuo sondri puttes*—CA 282, 17 dos **cuevas** departidas. G V 4047 *into the pettes tuo*—CA 282, 19 *en entramas* ***cuevas.*** G V 4945 *into a pet*——CA 295, 7 *en una* ***sima.*** G V 4965 *nyh the pet*—CA 295, 15 *junto con la* ***sima.*** G V 5019 *Into the pet*—CA 296, 9 *por la* ***sima*** *ayuso.* (Für CA 296, 31 *de la* ***sima*** nichts entsprechendes in G V 5062; andererseits ist *pet* in dem abschnitt überhaupt nicht oder in allgemeiner weise [4983 *out of the pet* = 295, 23 *de alli*, 4994 *Into that pet* = 295, 28 *en aquel lugar*] wiedergegeben.) Für *peligro*(*s*) wird *pielago*(*s*) oder gal., port. *pego*(*s*) zu lesen sein. *bugio* "grube" bleibt unbelegt und besteht wiederum nur in der einbildung des glossators. Dagegen passt port. *bugio* "*affe*." Moraes: "Bugío. . . . . Especie de macaco . . . ." L. *E conteçio asi que* [*en aquel lugar*] *avia un ximio e una serpiente que avian caido.* El bugio commo vido* . . . . (und vgl. Tobler, *V. B.*, II, 34).

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[1] Der erste übersetzer hat gewiss nicht von dem "Scharnebud" als einem "ave" gesprochen. Also späterer zusatz.

[2] Ein schreiber hat den gewöhnlichen fehler, *n* für *u* zu lesen, begangen. Dann *-nro* > *-nero.* Der herausgeber hat *u* hier und da zu seinem recht verholfen, so 1,21 *nova* für handschriftliches (? s. Macaulay II, CLXVIII) *nona;* 263,18 *andovo* (*ando no*). An anderer stelle hätte er das tun sollen, so 44,12 (wo es von einem hässlichen weib heisst, sie habe) *el pescueço seco ϵ muy cortos los onbros e acornados* (l. *acorvados*—G I 1688 *Hire Necke is schort, hir schuldres courbe*). Und wenn 507,28 *Cançer* der hs. (? s. Macaulay l. c.—G VIII 2941* *Chaucer*) zu *Caucer* gebessert wurde, warum nicht auch z.b. 166,29 *Tenser* (G III 2645 *Theucer*), 443,7 *Senerus* (G VII 4575 *Severus*) ? Natürlich ist auch *u* für *n* verlesen worden.

[3] Zusatz des herausgebers.

caratula. 275, 19 (Medea rät Jason) *que contra oriente leyese tres veses una caratula que le enseñaria.* G V 3588 *He scholde . . . . rede his carecte in the wise As sche him tauhte.* 275, 21 *E despues que vista e leida la caratula; . . . .* G V nichts entsprechendes. 277, 4 *fincose de rrodillas e començo de leer su caratula.* G V 3692 *carecte.* —Gloss.: "*caratula* cédula mágica, hechizo." Ganz recht, nur ist *caratula* in dieser bedeutung nicht spanisch, sondern altportugiesisch; s. *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 632.

chapear. 130, 18 *El niño pequeño rrebolviendose del rregaço de la madre, estava chapeando en la sangre della.* G III 315 *The child lay bathende in hire blod Out rolled fro the moder barm, And for the blod was hot and warm, He basketh him aboute thrinne.*—Gloss.: "*chapear* revolcarse . . . ." Moraes: "Chapejár . . . . Bater na agua como fazem os que não sabem nadar, e dão com as mãos de chapa na agua para se susterem." Michaelis: "Chapejár . . . . im Wasser planschen."

escaesçer. 179, 7 *nunca de la memoria seme escaesçe.* G IV 669 . . . . *That for nothing that Slowthe voucheth I mai foryete hire.* 179, 19 *todo seme escaesçe.* G IV 690 *Al is foryete.* 179, 26 *Ca por esta guisa es la mi voluntad escaesçida buelta en pusilaminidad.* G IV 706 *For thus stant my foryetelnesse And ek my pusillamite.* (*foryete* durch *olvidar* übersetzt z.b. 179, 3; 23; 36=G IV 664; 702; 719.) —Fehlt Gloss. Ist agal., aport., s. *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 637; 645.

escaesçimiento. 177,8 *Para servir a peresa en su ofiçio ay aun otro viçio que es llamado escaesçimiento, el qual en su entendimiento es tan olvidadiso que* . . . . G IV 541 *Foryetelnesse.* So auch *escaesçimiento* 178,22; 24. 180,3. 181,32. 182,13=*foryetelnesse* G IV 629; 633; 726; 846; 882. (Andererseits entspricht *escaesçimiento* 178,32 *Oblivion* G IV 651.)—Gloss.: "*escaescimiento* descaecimiento." Das jedoch bedeutet "Flaqueza, debilidad, falta de fuerzas y vigor en el cuerpo ó en el animo" (Ac.). Das substantiv wird wie das eben besprochene verb altgalizisch und altportugiesisch gewesen sein. Moraes hat "Esquécimènto . . . . Falta de memoria, de lembrança . . . ."

fuentes. 505,19 *unto la ferida de mi coraçon e las fuentes e coyunturas de mi cuerpo.* G VIII 2818 *Sche hath my wounded herte enoignt, My temples and my Reins also.*—Fehlt Gloss. Ist port. *fontes* "Schläfe" (Michaelis).

latejar. 476,28 *estonçes el coraçon della començo de caloreçer e latejar.* G VIII 1196 *Hire colde brest began to hete, Hire herte also to flacke and bete*—Gloss.: "*latejar latir.*" Ist gal. *latejar* "dar latidos" (Cuveiro), port. *latejár* "Pulsar a arteria, principalmente onde se não sente a sua pulsação, senão quando ha inflammação, irritação, etc. . . . ." (Moraes).

serayva. 376,27 *E asimismo por çiertas partes del aire se açiertan* (sc. las luvias) *a venir que se tornan en piedra que es llamada serayna.* G VII 296 *into hail it torneth ofte.*—Fehlt Gloss. Ist gal. *sarabia, saráiba* "granizo . . . ." (Cuveiro), port. *saráiva* "Pedrisco, granizo . . . ." (Moraes). Wegen *se-* statt *sa-* s. Cornu §96. -*n*- für -*u*- verlesen.

AUGURS AND OMENS, GODS AND GHOSTS

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When the world was young it was full of portents; prehistoric man hesitated in awe before the unusual sight or sound: the flight or call of a bird, the strange movement in the gloom, the flickering light on the moorland, or the flash of a shooting star. Land and sea and sky were peopled with sprites and goblins. So every object that made the wanderer's hair stand on end with horror or widened his eyes in wonder might be an omen of good or of evil. Even yet the average man has his "signs," and every language is full of the evidence of a practice of the ancients that has by no means lost its grip on the minds of the moderns.

Naturally, omens were most frequently 'sights,' and these sights might arouse admiration or fear. So regardless of the primary meaning of the word for 'sight,' the thing observed might come to stand for marvel or monster, God or ghost. The observer, whether of natural signs or of carefully prepared ceremonies, was called simply 'seer' or designated as a certain kind of seer, as in Lat. auspex, haruspex, Gr. *θυοσκόος*, *θυοσκόπος*, etc. And since a divine afflatus inspired the seer with occult knowledge which enabled him to interpret his observations, a word meaning properly 'seer' may also denote 'sage, wizard' or 'soothsayer, prophet.' Conversely a word for sage or prophet may mean seer. To the words meaning properly 'seer' are therefore added some that mean 'magician, sorcerer.' Lack of space forbids more than a merely suggestive treatment of the subject.

The same word that means 'omen' may also signify 'specter, phantom, ghost, god.' The underlying meaning in this case is either 'a sight, apparition' or 'a flickering, flashing.' For the former compare Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, 12; for the latter No. 17.

BIRD : OMEN

1. Since birds were supposed to furnish signs to the augurs, the word 'bird' came to denote 'omen,' as in the following examples:

Lat. *avis* 'bird: omen, portent.' For the assumed connections compare Walde², p. 74; Boisacq, p. 694. Lat. *āles* 'winged; swift,' *sb.* 'bird: omen, sign, augury': *āla* 'wing'+*it-* 'going' (cf. Walde², p. 25). Gr. *οἰωνός* 'vulture, eagle: omen.' Gr. *ὄρνις* 'bird: omen.' OHG *wīzegfogela* 'augurales alites,' *fogalonte sint* 'auspicati sunt,' OE *fugol-hwata, -hælsere, -wiglere* 'augur' (from translation).

That a bird of somber hue or of raucous cry should be regarded as boding ill seems natural enough, but why the flight or actions of birds should betoken good or ill, or a name for bird in general should come to mean omen does not appear on the surface. The ability of the bird to fly through the upper spaces must always have seemed marvelous, and this no doubt had something to do with their use in augury. And yet it is quite possible that a common meaning may in some cases be the basis for a word meaning 'bird' and 'omen.' For birds are often described as flyers or flutterers, and the same base might give a word for shine, appear: appearance, omen. Compare Skt. *pátati* 'fliegt, fällt; ereignet sich,' *patant-* 'fliegend; Vogel,' *ut-pātaḥ* 'Ausflug, Sprung; Erscheinung, portentum.' Skt. *sphuráti* 'schnellt, stösst; zuckt, zittert, zappelt; funkelt, kommt zum Vorschein,' *sphuraṇam* 'das Zucken; Funkeln, Erscheinen, Offenbarwerden,' Lith. *spar̃nas* 'Flügel; Flossfeder,' *sparvà* (flutterer) 'Bremse,' Goth. *sparwa* 'sparrow.'

APPEARANCE, SIGHT: OMEN, PORTENT, PRODIGY, MONSTER

2. Umbr. *auie* 'augurio' seems to come from a stem *auiē-* as indicated by *auiecla* 'augurali,' *aviekate* 'auspicatae' (cf. Buck, *Osc.-Umbr. Gram.*, sec. 186). These are perhaps not related to Lat. *avis* (as in Walde², p. 74), but derived from a stem **au̯i-*, **ou̯i-* 'appearance, omen,' root **au̯e-*, with the ablaut-forms **ō̆u̯e-*, *ū̆-*. Compare Skt. *ávati* 'beachtet,' *āvíḥ* 'offenbar, vor Augen,' OBulg. *avě, javě* 'kund, offenbar,' *aviti, javiti* 'offenbaren, kund machen, zeigen,' Sloven. *jáviti* 'melden,' —*se* 'sich zeigen, erscheinen,' etc. (cf. Berneker, I, 34): Gr. *ἀΐω* 'perceive, hear,' *αἰσθάνομαι* 'perceive by the senses,' Lat. *audio* (cf. Walde,² *s.v.*).

3. Lat. *ōmen*, OLat. *osmen* 'foreboding, sign, token,' from **ou̯ismen*, a derivative of **ou̯is-* 'perception, sign' in Gr. *οἴομαι* 'think, believe;

suspect, expect, forebode' (cf. Walde^2, p. 539 with lit.), Lat. *oscen* (omen-singer) 'divining-bird' (Solmsen, *Stud.* p. 94).

4. Lat. *prōdigium* 'token, omen, portent; prodigy, monster,' *prōdigiālis* 'portentous, wonderful, strange, prodigious,' etc., are correctly explained by H. Wirth (see Walde^2, p. 615) as *prō-digium* 'Vorzeichen': *digitus*, Gr. δείκνυμι 'show.' The etymology favored by Walde is utterly without basis. For the underlying meaning is not 'prediction' but 'sign, token.' Compare especially OE *tācen* 'sign, token, signal; prognostic; miracle,' *getācnian* 'signify, mean; portend,' *fore-tācen* 'foretoken, prodigy,' *foretācnian* 'presage,' Goth. *taikns* 'sign, miracle,' etc., OE *tǣcan* 'show, teach.'

5. Lat. *dīrae* 'portents, unlucky signs; Furies,' *dīrus* 'portentous, ominous, boding, ill omened, awful, fearful; abominable, dreadful, horrible': Norw. *tīr* 'Spähen, Glanz,' *tīra* 'stieren, genau zusehen,' OE, OS *tīr* 'glory,' MLG *tīre, tēre* 'Art und Weise,' MDu. *tiere* 'manner, sort; bearing,' *tieren* 'be of a certain character; resemble, be like,' OHG *ziari* 'schmuck, schön, prächtig,' *ziarī* 'Zier, Schmuck,' ORuss. *deirīt* 'sehen,' Lith. *dyrĕti* 'hervorgucken; lauern, heranschleichen,' *dỹrinti* 'gesenkten Hauptes langsam gehen,' *dairýtis* 'umhergaffen, gedankenlos umhersehen,' etc., from a root **dēi-* also in Gr. δέατο 'videbatur,' δῆλος 'clear, evident,' Skt. *dī́vyati* 'leuchtet,' *dévanam* 'Leuchten,' *deváḥ* 'Gott,' Lith. *dė̃vas* 'Gott,' *deivė̃* 'Gespenst, apparition,' LRuss. *dyvýty śa* 'schauen,' OBulg. *divŭ* 'Wunder,' ORuss. *divŭ* 'Wunder, Schreckbild; Unheil verkündender Vogel' (im Igorslied), Serb.-Cr. *dȉvan* 'wunderbar, wunderschön,' Czech *divný* 'wunderbar, sonderbar, schrecklich,' Lat. *dīvus, dīvīnus, dīvīnāre, dīvīnātio*, etc.

6. Lat. *monstrum* 'portent, ill omen, prodigy, monster,' *monstrāre* 'show, indicate, advise, teach; appoint, ordain,' *monēre* 'advise, warn, teach, announce, foretell.'

7. Lat. *ostentum* 'portent, prodigy, wonder,' *ostendo* 'stretch out: exhibit, display, show'; *portentum* 'sign, token, omen; monster, monstrosity; a strange tale, marvel,' *portendo* (stretch forth) 'presage, portend, forebode.'

8. Lat. *sīgnum* 'token, sign, prognostic; ensign, standard; image, statue, picture,' from **seq^{u}nom* 'something seen, sight, sign' : Goth. *saih́wan* 'see,' *siuns* (**seq^{u}nís*) 'ἀνάβλεψις, sight, vision; εἶδος, appear-

ance, form, shape; *ὄψις*, appearance; *ὀπτασία*, vision,' ON *sýn* 'sight, appearance, vision,' *sýna* 'show, display,' *sjón* 'eyesight, vision; sight, spectacle,' OBulg. *sočiti* 'anzeigen,' Bulg. *po-soka* 'Wunderzeichen,' etc. (cf. Walde², pp. 386 f. with lit., and 710, where *signum* is incorrectly explained). For meaning compare Lat. *species* 'sight, look, view; outward appearance, shape, form, figure; likeness, image, statue; vision, apparition.'

9. Gr. *ὀττεία* 'a foreboding, especially of evil; fear, dread,' *ὀττεύομαι* 'divine from ominous voices or sounds, have forebodings; deprecate as ill omened, abominari,' *ὄσσομαι* 'see, see in spirit; foretoken, presage, forebode,' *ὄψις* 'view, sight; appearance, figure, form; vision, apparition.'

10. Gr. *φάσμα* 'apparition, specter, phantom; vision, image of a thing; portent, omen; monster, prodigy,' *φάντασμα* 'appearance, image, specter,' *φαντάζω* 'make visible, display,' *φαίνω* 'show, display, make clear, explain; *pass.* be seen, appear.'

11. Gr. *τέρας* 'sign, wonder, marvel; monster; omen, portent' cannot be referred to the primary meaning "charme, acte magique" (Boisacq, p. 956). For it is not used of a deed done by man, but of the supposed acts of a god or higher power. It has in it the implication of something seen and hence regarded as a sign, portent, prodigy, monster, as: *ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηνε τέρας μέγα μητίετα Ζεύς* Il, 2, 324; *προφαίνειν τέραα Od.* 12, 394; *τ. φανήτω Od.* 20, 101; *τ. φαίνεται* Hdt. 7, 57; *τ. ἦκε* Od. 21, 415; *τ. γίγνεται* Hdt. 8, 37; and many others, showing that *τέρας* is seen, appears, comes, happens. The primary meaning must therefore have been like that of the words discussed above. The original form was probably **terəs-* 'something wavering, flashing': Skt. *taralaḥ* 'schwankend, zuckend, zitternd,' *taralayati* 'bewegt sich hin und her,' *trasa-ḥ* 'sich bewegend,' *-m* 'das Bewegliche, Tiere und Menschen,' *trásati* 'erzittert,' Gr. *τρέω* 'tremble, quiver; fear,' etc. For meaning compare Skt. *sphuráti* 'zuckt, zittert, kommt zum Vorschein'; Skt. *válati* 'wendet sich, dreht sich; äussert sich, zeigt sich,' *valanam* 'Wendung; Wogen, Wallen; das Hervortreten, Sichzeigen,' Lat. *voltus* 'appearance, aspect, visage, countenance,' Goth. *wulþus* 'Herrlichkeit,' *wulþrs* 'Wichtigkeit, Wert,' OE *wuldor* 'glory; praise,' *wuldrian* 'glorify, praise; glory; live in glory'; Skt. *tviṣáti* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, ist erregt; funkelt, glänzt,' and many others.

12. Gr. *τέκμαρ,* Hom. *τέκμωρ* 'sign, token, with the idea of something to come; a mark or boundary,' *τεκμαίρομαι* 'designate, ordain, decree, appoint; design, purpose; perceive from certain signs, divine, infer, judge,' *τεκμαίρω* 'show by a sign or token' (Pindar), IE **q*^{u}*ek̂s-:* Av. *čašman-* 'eye,' *čašāite* 'teach,' Skt. *cákṣaḥ* 'Schein, Helle, Gesicht,' *cákṣate, cáṣṭe* 'erscheint, sieht,' root **q*^{u}*ek̂-, -ĝ-* in Av. *ākasat̰* 'erblickte, Skt. *kā́çate* 'erscheint, glänzt, leuchtet, O'Bulg. *kazati* 'zeigen, mahnen,' Russ. *kazát* 'zeigen,' *kazístyj* 'ansehnlich, stattlich, hübsch,' Slov. *pri-kâzən* 'Phantom, Ungetüm,' etc. (cf. Berneker, I, 497).

13. Gr. *πέλωρ* 'monster,' of the Cyclops, *Od.* 9, 428; of Scylla, *Od.* 12, 87; of the serpent Python, H. Ap. 374; of Vulcan, Il. 18, 410, etc., *πέλωρον* 'monster, prodigy,' *πέλωρα θεῶν* 'portents sent by the gods,' *πέλωρος* 'monstrous, progidious, huge,' *πελώριος* 'prodigious, mighty,' of gods and heroes, also of arms, a stone, waves, etc., *τὰ πελώρια* 'the great harvest feast, celebrated in honor of Zeus in Thessaly,' *τέλωρ · πελώριον, μακρόν, μέγα* Hes., *τελώριος · μέγας, πελώριος,* root **q*^{u}*el-* 'turn, whirl, roll, move about; become, appear, etc.': *πέλω, πέλομαι* 'go, rise; come upon, befall; be,' Cret. *τελομαι ἔσομαι,' πόλος* 'axis, orbit, vault of the sky; land turned up by the plough,' *πολεύω* 'turn or go about; turn up, plough,' *πολέω* 'turn round, turn up, especially the soil; go round about, haunt, visit' (*ὄψεις ἔννυχοι πολούμενοι ἐς παρθενῶνας* Id. Pr. 645), *πωλέομαι* 'turn round and round in a place, frequent, visit often; go or come frequently to a place or person,' Lat. *colo* 'till, cultivate, take care of; dwell in, inhabit; care for, attend carefully, regard, foster, cherish; adorn, dress; honor, worship,' Skt. *cárati* 'bewegt sich, streicht herum; durchforscht, kundschaftet aus; betreibt, vollzieht, beobachtet, übt aus, bewirkt, bringt hervor,' *caraḥ* 'sich bewegend; Tier,' etc. The primary meaning of *πέλωρ* was therefore 'that which moves about,' the idea being of something seen that attracts the eye because of its activity. Compare for meaning No. 11, and also OE *brōga* 'terror, prodigy,' *bregdan* 'move quickly, brandish; weave, braid; change (color), transform (of wizard),' Icel. *bregđa,* pret. *brá* 'move quickly; plait, twist; change; flash, burst suddenly into view.'

14. Gr. *σῆμα* 'sign, token; omen,' *σημαίνω* 'show by a sign, point out; presage; signify, announce,' **dhi̯āmn̥:* Skt. *dhyāma* 'Gedanke,'

dhyāti, dhyā́yati ‘denkt, sinnt,’ *dhītíḥ* ‘Wahrnehmung, Gedanke,’ Av. *ā-diδāiti* ‘betrachtet,’ etc. (cf. Boisacq, p. 861, with lit.).

15. Gr. *θαῦμα* ‘wonder, marvel, wondrous thing; trick, sleight-of-hand; astonishment,’ **dhəu-*, *θέᾱ* (**dhāu̯ā-*) ‘a seeing, looking at, view; sight, spectacle,’ *θεάομαι* ‘view, behold.’ On the relation of this to the above cf. Persson, *Beiträge*, pp. 700, 707.

16. Skt. *ut-pātam* ‘Ausflug, Sprung; Erscheinung, portentum,’ *pātam* ‘Flug, Fall, Sturz, Einfall, Hereinbruch, Eintritt,’ *pátati* ‘fliegt, fällt, wirft oder legt sich; ereignet sich, trifft ein,’ *ā-pátati* ‘fliegt oder eilt herbei, fällt in oder auf, kommt zum Vorschein, ereignet sich, trifft ein,’ *ut-pátati* ‘fliegt, springt, schnellt auf; erhebt sich, entsteht.’ Here the idea is of something that arises, happens, looms up.

17. Skt. *vápuḥ* ‘wundersam, schön,’ *sb.* ‘Wunder, Wundererscheinung, Schönheit, Gestalt, Natur, Wesen,’ *vápuṣa-ḥ* ‘wunderbar, schön,’ *-m* ‘Wunder,’ ON *vafr-logi* ‘Waberlohe, unstet hin und her flackernde Flamme, Zauberflamme,’ *vafra* ‘sich unstet bewegen, wabern,’ OHG *wabar-siuni* ‘spectaculum, Schauspiel,’ MHG *waberen, wabelen, waben, wappen* (Germ. **wabwōn*) ‘in unsteter Bewegung sein,’ *weben* ‘sich hin und her bewegen,’ OE *wafian* ‘wave, brandish,’ *wæfer-sīen* ‘spectacle, display,’ *-hūs* ‘theater,’ *wæflian* ‘talk foolishly,’ *wāfian* ‘gaze in wonder, wonder at; waver, hesitate,’ *wāfung* ‘amazement; pageantry,’ ON *váfa* ‘schweben, vibrare, oscillare, versari, dubitari,’ NIcel. *vofa yfir* ‘impend, be imminent, threaten,’ *vofa* ‘specter, apparition, ghost,’ root **u̯ep-* ‘wave, waver; flicker; scatter; throw, etc.’ in Skt. *vápati* ‘streut hin, sät, wirft hin, bestreut,’ Lith. *vapéti* ‘schwatzen, plappern, viel Bedeutungsloses reden’ (primarily ‘flap, rattle, wag one’s tongue’), *vėplỹs* ‘Maulaffe’ (in reference to the hanging lip or the mouth opened in wonder), *vẽplinti* ‘mit offenem Munde umhergehen,’ Lett. *wēplis* ‘Maulaffe,’ *wēplōt* ‘maulaffen, gaffen.’

18. ChSl. *kobĭ* ‘*οἰωνοσκοπία*, augurium,’ *kobenije* ‘*οἰωνισμός*, augurium, auspicium,’ ORuss. *kobĭ* ‘Wahrsagung, Vorahnung nach dem Vogelflug oder Begegnung,’ OBulg. *kobĭ* ‘*τύχη*, Genius, Schutzgeist,’ Serb.-Cr. *kob* ‘gute Vorbedeutung, Glückwunsch; Vorahnung, böse Vorahnung,’ *kòbiti* ‘Glück wünschen; vorahnen, Unheil ahnen; begegnen,’ Czech *po-kobiti se* ‘gelingen,’ *koba* ‘Erfolg,’

ON *happ* 'luck, chance,' Norw. *heppa*, Swed. *hampa sik* 'sich ereignen, happen,' etc. (cf. Berneker, I, 535).

19. Welsh *coel* 'omen,' Ir. *cél* 'augurium,' OE *hǣl* 'omen,' ON *heill* 'foreboding, omen,' *heilla* 'enchant, spell-bind, bewitch,' OE *hālsian* 'exorcise,' *hǣlsian* 'observe omens,' OHG *heilisōn* 'augurari, expiare,' *heilisunga* 'omen, auspicium,' *heil* 'gesund, salvus,' Goth. *hails* 'gesund, heil,' *hails* 'χαῖρε,' OE *hāl* 'hail!' etc., OBulg. *cělŭ* 'heil, gesund; ganz, unversehrt,' Gr. κοῖλυ · τὸ καλόν Hes. (cf. Berneker, I, 123 f., with lit.).

This word came to denote '(good) omen' probably through its use in greetings and by the augurs, as in Lat. *avē*, *salvē*, Skt. *svā́hā* 'Heil, Segen! (als Ausruf beim Opfer).'

20. OE *hwatan* 'omens, divinations,' *hwata* 'augur,' *hwatian* 'practice divination,' IE **qu̯əd-*, with which compare **qēud-* in Russ. *čúdit'-śa* 'scheinen, vorkommen,' *čúdo*, OBulg. *čudo* 'Wunder,' *čuditi sę* 'sich wundern,' LRuss. *čúdo* 'Wunder, Seltenheit, Ungetüm,' and **qūd-* in Gr. κῦδος 'glory, fame, honor,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Phil.*, XVII, 567; Boisacq, pp. 529 f. with lit.).

21. OHG *bouhhan* 'Zeichen, signum; portentum,' OS *bōkan* 'Zeichen,' OE *bēacen* 'sign, token, beacon,' OFris. *bēken* 'Zeichen, Feuersignal,' Germ. **baukna-* 'sign, signal,' probably a derivative of the base **bhā-u-* in Skt. *vi-bhā́vaḥ* 'scheinend, leuchtend,' *vi-bhā́van-* 'scheinend, leuchtend, glänzend,' Gr. φάος 'light,' φάε 'appeared,' πιφαύσκω 'show, give a token, make manifest; make known, tell' (cf. Schade, I, 81), root **bhā-* 'shine, show; declare, tell' (cf. Persson, *Beiträge*, I, 117). Compare No. 10.

SEERS, AUGURS

22. Skt. *kavíḥ* 'seer, sage, poet,' Lat. *cautus* 'sacerdos': Lat. *cavēre* 'take heed,' *cautus* 'wary, careful, circumspect; sly, cunning; safe, secure,' Skt. *ā-kúvatē* 'intend,' OBulg. *čuti* 'merken, fühlen,' Russ. *čujat'* 'empfinden, fühlen, wittern, spüren; wahrnehmen, hören,' Slov. *čúti* 'hören, wachen,' *čúvati* 'wachen, hüten,' OE *hāwian* 'gaze on, survey,' *be-hāwian* 'look carefully, take care' (cf. Berneker, I, 162 f. with lit.). To the same root belong OE *hwata* 'augur': Russ. *čudit'-śa* 'scheinen, vorkommen,' etc. (cf. No. 20); Lat. *vātēs* (**qu̯āt-*) 'sage, soothsayer, poet': Lith. *kvóčža-s* (*man*) 'mir dünkt, ich ahne' (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XVII, 573).

According to another explanation Lat. *vātēs* is a loanword: Gall. *οὐάτεις*, OIr. *fāith* 'poet,' Welsh *gwawd* 'poem,' related with OE *wōþ* 'sound, melody, song,' ON *óđr* 'song, poetry' (cf. Walde², p. 809 with lit.). If these are connected with ON *óđr* 'mad, frantic, furious,' Goth. *wōds* 'wütend, besessen,' OHG *wuot* 'wütend,' *wuot* 'Wut, Raserei,' etc., *Wuotan*, OE *Wōden*, ON *Óđinn*, they are better separated from Lat. *vātēs*, and combined with Skt. *vā́taḥ* 'wind, god of the wind,' *vā́ti*, *vā́yati* 'blow,' etc. (cf. Mogk, *Pauls Grdr.*, pp. 1, 3, 332).

23. Lat. *augur*, in spite of the old form *auger*, may be derived from **au̯i-ĝus* 'omen-chooser, omen-observer,' and *augustus* from **au̯i-ĝustos* 'omen-chosen, omen-approved, auspicious.' The first part is the same as in *auspex*, on which see Walde, *s.v.* For the second part compare Goth. *kiusan* 'prüfen, erproben, wählen,' OHG *kiosan* 'prüfen, erforschen, wahrnehmen, wählen,' MLG *kēsen* 'wählen, suchen; sehen, bemerken,' OSwed. *kiūsa* 'bezaubern,' ON *val-kyrja* 'Walküre,' OE *wæl-cyrige* 'sorceress,' Skt. *juḥ* 'an etwas Gefallen findend' (**ĝus-* as in Lat. *au-gur*), *juṣṭáḥ* 'erwünscht, angenehm' (**ĝusto-* as in Lat. *au-gustus*).

24. Gr. *θεο-πρόπος* 'prophetic,' *sb.* 'seer, prophet,' *θεοπροπία*, *θεοπρόπιον* 'prophecy, oracle,' *θεοπροπέω* 'prophesy' are supposed to be made up of *θεός* 'god' and **πρόκος* with assimilation of *κ* to *π*: Lat. *procus*, *prex*, *precor*, etc. (cf. Boisacq, p. 339). If that is so, we should compare especially OE *freht* 'divination,' *frihtere* 'soothsayer,' *frihtrian* 'practice divination,' ON *frétt* 'Frage, Erforschung.' In that case *θεοπρόπος* means 'learning of a god; god-learner,' not 'Gott befragend' (Prellwitz², p. 182), 'qui interroge les dieux; interprete des dieux' (Boisacq, p. 339), just as OE *freht* means 'a learning,' with the perfective signification as in OE *gefricgan* 'learn by inquiry, hear of.' But perhaps *θεοπρόπος* should be differently explained. The word is used also, like *θεωρός*, of a public messenger sent to consult the oracle. The first part of *θεοπρόπος* may be the same as in *θεωρός*, Ion. *θεορός*; *θέα* (No. 15), and *-πρόπος* may mean 'seer': *πρέπω* 'strike the senses; be clearly seen, appear, be plain or manifest; sound clear; be like, become, be fitting, proper,' which is probably an extension of *πεπαρεῖν* '*ἐνδεῖξαι, σημῆναι*,' *πεπαρεύσιμος · εὔφραστος, σαφής* Hes., Lat. *pāreo* 'appear, be visible; submit, yield to, obey.' With this explanation *θεοπρόπος* would be equivalent to *θεωρός*.

25. Gr. *μάντις* 'seer, prophet; presager, foreboder,' *μαντεῖος* 'prophetic, oracular,' *μαντεία* 'power of divination: oracle,' *μαντεῖον* 'oracular response,' *μαντεύομαι* 'divine, prophesy, deliver an oracle; presage, forebode; consult an oracle' (**mən-t-*): *μαίνομαι* 'rage, be furious; be mad, rave,' frequently used of prophetic frenzy, *μανία* 'madness, frenzy; Bacchic frenzy, enthusiasm' (ἀπὸ Μουσῶν), *μῆνις* 'wrath, esp. of the gods' (cf. Prellwitz^2, p. 281). For meaning compare Skt. *vípraḥ* 'erregt, begeistert, weise, klug,' *sb.* 'Sänger, Dichter, Priester, Brahmane.' Semantically this closely resembles the following.

26. OE *wīgol* 'oscen,' *wiglian* 'practice divination,' *wiglere* 'diviner, soothsayer,' *wicca* 'wizard,' *wicce* 'witch,' *wiccian* 'use witchcraft,' MDu. *wigelen, wichelen* 'soothsay,' *wichelaer* 'soothsayer,' MLG *wichelen* 'zaubern, hexen, beschwören, wahrsagen,' *wicheler* 'Zauberer, Wahrsager,' *wicken* 'wahrsagen, zaubern,' etc.: EFris. *wiggelen* '(sich) hin und her bewegen, schwingen, schaukeln,' *wiggen* 'wiegen, schwingen, schaukeln, gaukeln,' MHG *wigelen* 'wanken,' *wiege, wige* 'Wiege,' *wigen* 'wiegen,' *weigen* 'schwanken,' Swiss *weiggen* 'wackelnd bewegen,' Lith. *veikùs* 'schnell, flink,' etc. (cf. author, *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 337).

27. OE *hlytta* 'diviner, augur': *hlot* 'lot,' *hlēotan* 'cast lots; obtain by lot,' OHG *hliozan* 'sortiri, loosen; wahrsagen, zaubern; erloosen, erlangen,' etc. In meaning this is like *sorcerer*.

28. Lith. *burtójis, bùrtininkas* 'Wahrsager,' *bùrtas* 'Loos,' *buriù, bùrti* 'Wahrsagerei, Besprechungen, Kartenlegen, etc. treiben,' *búrimas* 'das Wahrsagen,' Lett. *burt* 'zaubern,' *burwis* 'Zauberer,' *burwe* 'Zauberin,' *burwiba* 'Zauberei, Hexerei' belong in an entirely different semantic group from Gr. *φαρμακός* (No. 29), with which they have been compared (cf. Boisacq, pp. 1015 f.). Compare rather Lat. *fors* 'chance, hap, hazard, luck,' *fortūna* 'chance, luck, fate, fortune,' OE *gebyrd* 'birth; condition, nature,' *gebyrian* 'happen; be fitting, proper,' OHG *geburen* 'geschehen; zukommen, gebühren; *refl.* sich ereignen, sich zeigen,' *giburī* 'casus, sors, eventus,' OS *giburian* 'sich zutragen, statt haben, den Verlauf haben,' Lat. *fero* 'bear, produce,' Gr. *φέρω* 'bear,' *εὖ, κακῶς φέρεσθαι* 'turn out well or ill,' *τὸ φέρον, τὸ φερόμενον* 'fate, lot,' etc.

29. Gr. *φαρμακός* 'poisoner, sorcerer, magician,' *φαρμακεύς* 'one who deals in medicines, poisons or charms, poisoner, sorcerer,'

φαρμακίς 'venefica, sorceress, witch,' φαρμακεία 'the using of medicines, especially of purgatives; the use of any kind of drugs, poisoning; witchcraft,' φαρμακεύω 'administer a drug or medicine; practice poisoning or sorcery,' φάρμακον 'medicine, drug, ointment; dye, paint, color; enchanted potion, witchery; a stimulant to give relish to food, a spice, seasoning,' φαρμάσσω 'heal by medicine; poison; enchant, bewitch; (make sharp, hard), temper (metal); season, spice,' base **bhr̥men-* 'something sharp or that rends, tears: drug, poison; stimulant, spice': Gr. φάρω 'cut, sever,' Lat. *forāre, ferīre,* etc. (cf. *Class. Phil.*, XVI, 68). For meaning compare OBulg. *truti* 'zehren, absumere': *traviti* 'vergiften,' and Nos. 31–33. Closely connected in meaning are many words for demon, witch, as: Skt. *rakṣā́ḥ* 'Beschädiger, nächtlicher Unhold,' *rákṣaḥ* 'Beschädigung,' Av. *rašah-* 'Verwundung,' Gr. ἐρέχθω 'rend, break.'

30. OE *lybbestre* 'witch' (poisoner), *lybb* 'drug, poison,' *lybb-corn* 'purgative grain or drug,' *lyfesn* 'charm, amulet,' ON *lyf* 'drug, medicine,' *lyfja* 'cure, heal,' Goth. *lubja-* 'Gift, Zauber,' OHG *luppi* 'Gift, Zauberei,' MHG *lüppe* 'zusammenziehender Saft; Vergiftung, Zauberei': EFris. *lübben* 'schinden, schädigen,' Lith. *lùpti* 'abhäuten, schälen,' *laupýti* 'abblättern, schälen,' Skt. *lumpáti* 'zerbricht, beschädigt,' etc.

31. OLG *toufere* 'veneficus, Zauberer,' OHG *zoubrāri* 'Zauberer, fascinator, incantator, magus,' *zoubar, zouver* 'Zauber, Zauberei, Zaubermittel,' ON *taufr* 'Zaubermittel, Amulett,' OE. *tēafor* 'red pigment, vermilion,' Germ. **taubra-* 'drug, poison; paint, pigment; magic drug, potion,' pre-Germ. **doupro-* 'φάρμακον': MDu. *tobben* 'zijne werking doen gevoelen, van een geneesmiddel; zijne (schadelijke) werking op een deel van het lichaam doen gevoelen,' 'have a certain effect, of a remedy; have an (injurious) effect on a part of the body,' *toven,* 'zupfen,' MLG *tobben* 'zupfen, locken, zwacken, zerren,' NHG *zupfen.*

32. Lat. *venēficus, venēfica* 'poisoner, sorcerer, sorceress,' *venēficus* 'poisoning, poisonous, magical,' *venēficium* 'poisoning; the preparation of magic potions, magic, sorcery,' *venēnum* 'potion, drug; poison, venom; color, dye, paint; magical potion, charm.' The primary meaning was certainly not 'Liebestrank,' as explained in Walde, though *venēnum* may come from **u̯enes-no-* 'something that over-

powers': Skt. *vánati*, *vanṓti* 'bezwingt, siegt, gewinnt,' Av. *vanaiti* 'siegt,' Goth. *winnan* 'leiden,' etc.

33. MDu. *meter* 'a measurer; geometer; magician, sorcerer,' *metinge* 'a measuring; geometry; the measuring of magicians and sorcerers,' OHG *mezzan* 'messen; messen bei zauberischem Heilverfahren,' Lat. *medicus* 'healing, curing; magical,' *subst.* 'physician,' *medicor* 'heal, cure,' *medicāmen* 'drug, medicine, remedy; poison; tincture, dye; paint, cosmetic,' *medeor* (measure out for) 'heal, cure, be good for,' Av. *vī-mad-* 'Heilkundiger, Arzt,' *vī-māδayanta* 'sie sollen die Heilkunde ausüben,' Gr. *μέδομαι* 'provide for, attend to; plan, contrive,' *μήδομαι* 'intend, devise, plan, plot,' Icel. *mót* 'mark, stamp, impress; manner, way,' OE *mētan* 'paint, draw,' etc. (cf. *Class. Phil.*, IX, 156 f.).

34. Skt. *sādhakaḥ* 'zustande bringend, ausführend,' *sb.* 'Verrichter, Zauberer,' *sādhaḥ* 'Ausführung,' *sādhati* 'kommt oder führt zum Ziele,' *sādháyati* 'bringt in Ordnung, schlichtet, führt aus, besorgt, verschafft, erlangt'; *siddhaḥ* 'vollkommen, wunderkräftig,' *sb.* 'ein Vollendeter, Seliger, Seher, Zauberer,' *siddham* 'Zauberkraft,' *sídhyati* 'gelangt zum Ziele, hat Erfolg, wird glücklich oder vollkommen, gelingt, kommt zustande.'

35. Av. *yātuṣ̌* 'Zauberer,' Skt. *yātúḥ* 'Hexerei, Spukdaemon': Skt. *yátati* 'verbindet,' etc. For meaning compare Skt. *yōginī* 'Zauberin, Hexe,' *yṓgaḥ* 'Anschirren, Verbindung; Ausrüstung, Anwendung, Mittel, Kniff, Zauber,' *yuktiḥ* 'Verbindung, Anwendung, Mittel, Kunstgriff, List,' *yugám* 'jugum,' etc.

36. OE *galend*, *galere*, *galdre* 'enchanter, incantator,' *gealdricge* 'sorceress,' *gealdor* 'incantation, charm; magic; divination,' ON *galdr*, OHG *galstar* 'Zauberlied,' OE, OS, OHG *galan* 'singen, Zaubersang singen,' ON *gala* id., etc. Many other words for singing or speaking have the same development in meaning.

37. Lat. *deus*, *dīvus*, Skt. *deváḥ*, Lith. *dē̃vas* 'Gott,' *deivē̃* 'Gespenst, apparition,' Skt. *dévanam* 'Leuchten,' *dī́vyati* 'leuchtet,' *dyā́uḥ* 'Himmel, Tag,' etc. (cf. No. 5).

38. Goth. *guþ* 'God,' *pl.* 'gods,' pre-Germ. **ghutóm* 'something observed, apparition': Goth. *gudja* (observer, augur) 'priest,' ON *gyđja* 'priestess, goddess,' *gođi* 'priest, chief,' OHG *coting* 'tribunus,'

gota, MHG *gote* (guardian) 'godmother,' *göte*, *gute* 'godfather,' etc.: ON *gá* (**gawēn*) 'look, look after, attend,' *geyma* 'give heed to, attend,' Goth. *gaumjan* 'observe, notice,' OBulg. *gověti* 'εὐλαβεῖσθαι, religiose vereri; αἰδεῖσθαι, venerari,' Upper Sorbian *howić* 'günstig, passend, dienlich sein; begünstigen,' Lat. *favēre*, *Faunus*, *favor*, *faustus*.

39. Gr. θεός 'God': MHG *getwās* 'Gespenst; Torheit,' MDu. *gedwas* 'dwaasheid; droombeeld, hersenschim, zinsbegoocheling,' 'folly; dream-vision, illusion,' **dhu̯ĕso-* 'shake, flutter,' with which compare **dheusó-* 'raging, fierce, wild' in Goth. *dius* 'wild animal,' OHG *tior* 'Tier,' etc., and **dhus-* in Gr. θυῖα 'Baccante,' θυιάς 'raving, frantic,' θυστάδες · Βάκχαι, Lat. *furo*, *furor*, *Furiae*, MLG *dusich* 'betäubt, schwindelig,' etc., root **dheu-* in Skt. *dhūnóti* 'shake, set in motion,' whence also OE *gedwimor* 'specter; illusion, delusion.' For meaning compare the following.

40. Skt. *vi-bhramaḥ* 'Herumirren, Zucken; Verwirrung, Irrtum, Wahn, Trugbild,' *bhramati* 'schweift, irrt umher, bewegt sich hin und her, dreht sich, schwankt.' NIcel. *vofa* (ON **váfa*) 'ghost, specter, apparition': ON *váfa* 'move to and fro, waver,' etc. (No. 17). Skt. *yakṣá-m* 'Geist, Spuk, Erscheinung,' *-ḥ* 'Art Halbgötter im Gefolge Kubera's': *yakṣín-* 'eifrig, lebendig,' *pra-yákṣati* 'dringt vor, eilt,' *yahuḥ* 'rastlos' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb*, p. 234). Lat. *mānes* 'shades of the dead, gods of the lower world': Gr. μῆνις 'wrath, especially of the gods,' μανία 'madness, frenzy,' μαίνομαι 'rage, be furious,' Goth, *moþs* 'θυμός, ὀργή,' root **mā-* in ChSl. *manọti* 'winken,' LRuss. *májaty* 'hin und her bewegen, schwingen,' Pol. *majaczyć* 'kreisen, umkreisen; schwindeln, drehen; Unsinn reden,' *majaczeć* 'sich unklar zeigen, in der Ferne schweben,' Skt. *māyā́* 'Verwandlung, Truggestalt, Betrug; Täuschung, Illusion,' Czech *mam* 'Schein, Trug,' Slovak *mamona* 'Gespenst,' Russ.-ChSl. *mara* 'ἔκστασις, Gemütsbewegung,' Russ. *mará* 'Lockung, Verleitung; Phantasieren, Träumerei; Wahnbild, Vision,' LRuss. *márá* 'Gaukelbild, Phantom; Traum, Täuschung,' etc. (cf. Berneker, II, 7, 15, 18).

THE LETTER *Y*

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No other letter of the alphabet has had such a checkered career, has served so many purposes, as the *y*. If we ignore the distinction of tense and lax vowels and some slight differences of tongue position, and if we further pass over the mechanical device of using *y* for the Old English þ in early printed texts, we find the *y* employed, at different times and places, with such distinct values as:

1. A high back rounded vowel, the simple *u*-sound, in the earliest Greek, and also in present Russian, Bulgarian, and Serbian.
2. A high mixed unrounded vowel, the Polish *y*.
3. A low mixed unrounded vowel, the Welsh *y* (in part).
4. A high front rounded vowel, like the French *u*, in classical Attic, Old English, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish, etc.
5. A high front unrounded vowel, the simple *i*-sound, in English *pity*, etc., in Modern Greek, Bohemian, Lithuanian (here only for the *ī*), etc.
6. A diphthong *ai*, in English *July*, etc.
7. A consonantal *i*, in English *yet*, Spanish *yermo*, French *voyage*, etc.
8. A consonantal *u* (English *w*), in Gothic.

The following brief history of the *y* is in the main an assembly of facts which are familiar enough to scholars in one or another field, but have not been brought together in this way. At the same time, it will be found to contain some slight contributions to the discussion of questions that are in dispute or have not been clearly raised or met.

The European history of the Y begins in Greece, where Y and V are collateral forms of the same letter, representing the *u*-vowel. Both forms occur in inscriptions of the earliest date, and while the one or the other may appear earlier in a particular region or prevail at a given period, they are equally old from the point of view of archaic inscriptions as a whole, and probably reflect variants already existing in the Semitic prototype. But it is the Y which corresponds almost exactly to the form of the *wau* on the Moabite stone, the best available example of the early Phoenician or better Canaanitic alphabet. The latter was itself developed on the acrophonic principle from crude pictures, possibly under the influence, through South Semitic mediation, of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but certainly without reference to the Egyptian phonetic values and wholly on the basis of the Semitic names. The selection was made, it appears, from representations of objects familiar in the daily life of a nomadic people, and just as the *daleth* 'door' (Δ) was the outline of the door of a tent, so it is very plausibly suggested that the *wau* 'hook, peg' was originally the outline of a tent peg.[1]

The Semitic *wau*, denoting a consonantal *u* (Eng. *w*), was used to represent the Greek *u*-vowel, just as the Semitic *yod*, denoting a consonantal *i* (Eng. *y* in *yet*), was used to represent the Greek *i*-vowel —with this difference, however, in the situation: whereas the *yod* was not needed in Greek in its consonantal value and yielded only the vowel ι, Greek possessed both a consonantal and a vocalic *u*, and

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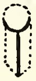
[1] Kalinka, *Klio*, XVI, 310. But the manner of derivation there suggested by the elaborate sketch of a carefully modeled tent peg seen in perspective  seems unduly sophisticated. Anyone who has camped out without an adequate supply of ready-made tent pegs knows that a Y-shaped twig serves the purpose.

The remarkable discoveries of the last decades in Crete and elsewhere have brought a new conception of the antiquity and variety of systems of writing in the eastern Mediterranean region. But they do not occasion any material revision of the traditional belief that the immediate source of the historical Greek alphabet was the Phoenician. That is, it was an alphabet which became known to the Greeks through the Phoenicians and was and is still commonly termed the Phoenician alphabet, though it probably did not originate with the Phoenicians and was certainly not exclusively Phoenician, but rather a North Semitic or Canaanitic alphabet. This alphabet of twenty-two letters was a unit in system, that is in the number, order, and value of the letters, but it was still plastic in the forms of the individual letters. The same is true of the earliest Greek alphabet of twenty-three letters. Its essential unity as a system is strikingly shown in the uniform adaptation of five Semitic characters of consonantal value to the designation of the vowels α, ϵ, ι, ο, υ. At the same time, the forms of the letters show radical local differences in the earliest inscriptions, and many of these beyond doubt reflect variants existing in the Semitic alphabet. For the forms of the Moabite stone and the Baal Lebanon inscriptions, while they are amply sufficient to show at a glance the origin of the Greek alphabet, and are still the closest available representatives of the prototype which was carried to Greece, are not to be regarded as reflecting this prototype precisely in all details. Other examples of North Semitic writing, as the early Aramaic of the stele of Sinjerli, and to some extent even the remote and later variant forms of the South Semitic inscriptions, are to be taken into account. At any time some new discovery in North Semitic lands may furnish added parallels to the variant forms of the letters in archaic Greek inscriptions.

the original value and position of the *wau* is represented by the *F*, while the vowel *y*, *v*, was placed at the end of the alphabet, making a twenty-third letter.[1]

The Greek Y, V originally denoted the inherited *u*-vowel, long or short, and this value was retained in many dialects. But in Attic-Ionic at an early period the pronunciation changed to that of a vowel akin to the French *u* or the German ü.[2]

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[1] The relation between the F and the Y, V has been the most puzzling problem in the history of the earliest Greek alphabet previous to the introduction of the supplementary signs φ, χ, ψ. Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*, regarded the F as derived from the Semitic *wau* and the Y, V as a new creation, remarking (p. 170, footnote) that the resemblance between the Greek Y and the form of the *wau* on the Moabite stone (𐤅) was perhaps accidental. No other scholar has followed him in questioning so obvious an identification, and the derivation of Y from the Semitic *wau* is not doubted by anyone today. But a solution of the dilemma that is not one whit less desperate and incredible is the widely current view that the F, while having the original value, name and position of the *wau*, is not derived from it but was formed from the preceding letter E by omission of the lower bar, while the original form Y with secondary value was placed at the end of the alphabet. This idea, first expressed by Clermont-Ganneau in 1884, has been constantly repeated with approval, and recently by Sethe, *Nachr. Gött. Ges.*, 1917, p. 444 ("ein neues nach dem Muster des benachbarten Buchstaben E gebildetes Zeichen, das Digamma F"). But surely if of the two letters only one were derived from the *wau* and the other a new creation, it would be the former that would maintain the original value, name, and position. Granted the premise, Kirchhoff's standpoint was the only logical one. The situation requires us, it has long been my conviction, to believe that the F no less than the Y is derived from the *wau*, that they are variant forms of the same letter, no matter whether or not we can point to the connecting links. Wilamowitz, *Phil. Unters.*, VII (1884), 288, pronounced for the identity of F and Y, but in a manner which only invited rejection. In one of the most recent and important discussions of the Greek alphabet, Martin P. Nilsson, "*Die Uebernahme und Entwickelung des Alphabets durch die Griechen*," *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-phil. Medd.*, I (1918), 6, it is remarked of the Y and F "Die Zeichen sehen einander so unähnlich, dass man nicht geneigt ist F aus Y abzuleiten, ausserdem hätte das Grundzeichen auf dem alphabetischen Platz verbleiben sollen. Es scheint nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass man es in diesem Falle mit zwei semitischen graphischen Varianten zu tun hat, die im Griechischen verschiedene Verwendung gefunden haben. Auf hebräischen Münzen kommt eine *vav* Form vor, die dem grieschischen F ähnlich ist. Sicher kann dies aber keineswegs behauptet werden. Diese ist wie die älteste so die dunkelste Differenzierung des Griechischen Alphabets." It is to be hoped that this view, which is the only one that meets the logical requirements of the situation, may receive confirmation from new discoveries of Semitic early variants of the *wau*. In the meantime one may point to such Semitic variants as the Aramaic ϥ (Sinjerli), Ч, Sidonian V|, and on the Greek side to the earliest Cretan form of the digamma, namely ↗|. The common form may well owe the parallelism of its bars to the influence of the E. That is something totally different from deriving it outright from the latter.

[2] Such a statement is broad enough to include several possible shades of pronunciation (for French *u* and German *ü* are not identical) between which it would be idle to attempt to choose. So understood, there is no good reason to doubt the

While the Attic *υ* was no longer a simple *u*, the original diphthong *ου* came to have this value, so that the spelling *ου* was now the normal designation of the sound *u*, of whatever source. It is frequently employed to represent the original value of the *υ* in dialects where this was retained (e.g., *γλουκού* = *γλυκύ*) and likewise to represent the *u* of other languages, as Latin. Hence the ОY of the Cyrillic alphabet, denoting the Slavic *u* (which is also of diphthongal origin, but that is quite irrelevant). This ОY was later abbreviated to Y, so that in the Russian, Bulgarian, and Serbian alphabets the Y happens to coincide in value with the original Greek Y.

The Gothic Y = *w* may be explained in part as a similar abbreviation of the ОY which is the most usual Greek transcription of the *w* in Germanic names, as of the Latin *u*-consonant in Roman names, e.g., *Οὐαργίωνες*, *Οὐισβούργιοι*, like *Ουάλεις*, etc. The usual statement is that the Gothic use was based on the value of *υ* in the diphthongs *αυ*, *ευ* when followed by a vowel, which is now that of a *v* and was presumably *w* at an earlier stage. But the familiar *ου* = *w* may well have been an additional factor.

We may now turn to the history of *y* in the Latin alphabet and its derivatives. Both the Greek variant forms, V and Y, occurred in the Chalcidian alphabet that was carried to Italy, and both are attested in the abecedaria found in Italy and in the early Italic alphabets, Etruscan, Oscan, etc. But the V was the more common and is the established form of the Latin alphabet from the earliest

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correctness of the current view. But since this is often stated with arguments which only prove that the vowel was no longer *u* and not yet *i*, it is not superfluous to review the situation.

We know that the Attic *υ* had ceased to be a plain *u*-vowel, and that the change was one which eventually led to the present identity with *ι*. A change of *u* to i means both fronting and unrounding, and there are two possibilities as regards sequence. The *u* may first be unrounded, as in the Slavic *y* (Russian ы, Polish *y*) from IE *ū*, and then fronted to *i* as in the present Bohemian *y*. Or the *u* may first be fronted, as in French *u* from Latin *ū*, or in Old English *y*, German *ü*, and then unrounded to *i*, as in Middle English *ī* from *y*, in German dialects, etc. The Attic *υ*, which was certainly an intermediate stage between *u* and *i*, might then from the theoretical point of view be akin to the Slavic *y* or to the French *u*. But the latter sound is much more frequent, and the sequence fronting, unrounding the more usual. Again, in the Cyrillic alphabet, based on Greek values of the ninth century A.D. or earlier, Y appears for *υ* or *οι* in Greek loanwords (just as in Gothic), but is not used to denote the Slavic *y*. Further, there is distinct evidence that the vowel was rounded. Cf. Dionys. Halic., *De compos. verb.*, p. 52, Usener: ". . . . *τὸ υ, περὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ χείλη συστολῆς γενομένης ἀξιολόγου πνίγεται καὶ στενὸς ἐκπίπτει ὁ ἦχος.*"

times. This V represented the Latin *u*-vowel, and also the Greek υ in the early Greek loanwords (*buxus, cubus, gubernare,* etc.), which then had the same subsequent history as the native Latin *u*. But in the first century B.C. the Y was introduced in the transcription of borrowed Greek words to represent the current Greek pronunciation, that is the Attic υ as described above. The Y and the Z, which were likewise introduced in Greek loanwords, were given places at the end of the alphabet. Educated Romans familiar with the Greek gave to the Y the correct Greek pronunciation, and this was its accepted value in High Latin.[1] But to popular speech the Greek sound was alien, the *y* was pronounced like *i*, and with the extinction of the learned pronunciation in the later empire it disappeared from the language as a distinct sound.

The letter, however, survived, and by force of tradition continued to be employed in words where it answered to Greek υ, though with no consistency, e.g., *gyro, giro, symbolum, simbolum, presbyter, presbiter*. It was extended, perhaps already in the classical period, to certain words fancifully connected with the Greek, as the very frequent *sylva* (cf. ὕλη), *myser* (cf. μυσαρός). The feeling that *y* was appropriate to words of Greek origin led further, in very late texts and inscriptions, to its frequent substitution for *i* where the Greek vowel was not υ, e.g., *hystoria, dyplomus, chrysma, chyrurgia, epyscopus, monastyrium, paradysus* (cf. OFris. *paradys*, OFr. *paradyz*), *pylosophus, Dydimus, Hyppolitus,* etc. And finally *y* might be used for any Latin *i*, e.g., *Ytalia* (frequent), *tytulus, fyscus, olym,* etc.

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[1] It is commonly held that there was a similar native Latin sound in words like *maxumus, maximus* (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, pp. 25 ff., on "the *ü*-sound"; Sommer, *Handbuch der latein. Laut- und Formenlehre*, pp. 104 ff., with literature cited). Without discussing whether this is anything but a fiction of the grammarians, it is enough to notice here that Quintilian and Velius Longus, who are especially quoted in support of an intermediate sound in these words, never think of identifying it with the *y* which they use in Greek words and which the grammarians generally regard as proper only in Greek words. It remained for a fourth-century grammarian (Marius Victorinus VI, 19 Keil) to reprove his predecessors for not seeing that it was *y* which was wanted in the much discussed words, e.g., *proxymus*—adding, however, that the practice of so pronouncing was obsolete. No such spelling as *proxymus* is found in inscriptions.

The case of *vir*, etc., is still different. Velius Longus says the vowel of vir was pronounced "paene u," the Appendix Probi has "vir non vyr," "virgo non vyrgo," etc., and these and other similar statements of the grammarians, together with late inscriptional spellings like *Vyrginio, unibyriae* (*univiriae*), seem to indicate an actual tendency to a slight rounding of the vowel after *v*, though without permanent effect on its later history.

In early French, Italian, and Spanish, some texts have no examples of *y* or only in an occasional Greek name, while in others *y* occurs with great frequency. Thus, for example, Ital. *dy, my, tutty, ydole, ysule, yo, pyu, dyacono;* Span. *amydos, arrybar, pyntada, myo, yre, ydo, yantar, ansy, sy;* Fr. *y, yre, yver, dys, mercy, party.* There is some tendency to use the *y* especially in the initial position and still more in the final position, particularly in French. But it is most frequent and persistent in diphthongs, whether final or not, e.g., Ital. *aydar, maystro, speysa, traytor, rey, poy, soy, senteray, vederay, eyo, peyo, noya;* Span. *ayrado, seys, treynta, veynta, oyr, cuydades, rrey, oy, muy, ayades, traya, suyo;* Fr. *ayder, fayr, beyn, dreyt, loyn, moylier, vray, luy, rey, roy, meneray, noyer, moyen.* This spelling of the diphthongs in French is common down through the sixteenth century, and even later, especially in the case of final diphthongs (*roy, moy, foy,* etc.). It passed over into Middle English, e.g., *maynteigned, purveyde, destruyde, poyntes;* and it was also common in German until comparatively recent times, e.g., *seyn, teyl, weyt, dabey.*

When the diphthong was followed by a vowel, as in Span. *traya,* Fr. *noyer,* etc., the *y* was pronounced as a consonant with the following vowel (in French also with the preceding vowel[1]), and here the *y* is maintained in present Spanish and French. It is in just this class of words that we have the real source of the consonantal use of *y* in present Spanish, French, and English. Starting in a graphic habit which had nothing to do with consonantal value, the spelling was maintained in these words where the *y* was inevitably consonantal, and this reacted on the fluctuating initial spelling, fixing *y* here, too, for the consonantal value.

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[1] The *y* in French *payer, moyen,* etc., is simply a survival of the more general practice in diphthongs, as shown above, and does not rest on *ii,* which is a comparatively infrequent spelling. But the pronunciation favored such an analysis, which was given by some of the French orthoepists.

Owing to a certain resemblance between *y* and *ij,* though they are not liable to confusion in MSS, there was a widely current notion that *y* was the equivalent of *ii* or *ij.* Cf. the occasional use of *vy* for the numeral *vii,* the early Dutch *y* = *ij,* the history of Lithuanian *y* (below, p. 348), etc. English *July* is often stated to be from *Julii,* but this is far from certain.

The danger of confusion in MSS was not between *y* and *ij,* but between *y* and *v.* Hence the dotted *y.* In the citations of *y*-spellings in this paper no account is taken of the presence or absence of the dot.

The old use of *y* as a vowel has been given up in French and Spanish, except in Greek words and very few native words, as Fr. *y*, Span. *y;* and the letter has been wholly discarded from the Italian alphabet.

In Old English the *y* was employed to denote the mutated *u*, the *u* which had been fronted under the influence of an *i* or *j* of the following syllable and must have had a value similar to the French *u*. How did it come that the *y* was chosen for this purpose? The Old English alphabet was based upon the Latin alphabet (with the addition of the differentiated *đ* and two runic signs) in the form current in England in about the seventh century A.D. and the values of that time. But the *y* was then merely a graphic variant of *i*. There was no oral tradition of the Ciceronian (Greek) pronunciation of *y*. Nor would the statements of the Roman grammarians, which rarely go beyond a reference to the Greek, give a notion of this pronunciation to any but those familiar with Greek. We are driven to the conclusion that the Old English use of *y* rests upon acquaintance with the current Greek pronunciation of *υ*, which we know was still essentially the Attic *υ* and did not become identical with *ι* before the ninth or tenth century. There is no difficulty in assuming such acquaintance with Greek, which was in fact for several centuries better known in Britain and Ireland than anywhere else in Western Europe. Aside from the evidence for earlier centuries, and the question where the British (or, as Zimmer thinks, Irish) born Pelagius learned his Greek, we may merely recall that in the seventh century Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, born at Tarsus and educated at Athens, was energetic in promoting the study of Greek, and that in the time of Bede there were still scholars as familiar with Latin and Greek as with their mother-tongue.[1]

In a version of the Lord's prayer in the Greek language, but in Old English characters the Greek *υ* is represented by *y* (*ryse*=*ῥῦσαι*). There are several clear indications that the transcription was based on the spoken form rather than on the written text.[2]

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[1] Cf. Lumby, *Greek Learning in the Western Church during the Seventh and Eighth Centuries;* Zimmer, *Keltische Kirche, passim;* Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, pp. 451 ff., 462 ff.

[2] Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III, 370; other references in Sandys, I, 462, footnote.

The Old English use of *y* is the source of its corresponding use in Old Norse (where the *đ* is likewise borrowed from the OE alphabet) and in Danish-Norwegian and Swedish. In modern Icelandic the vowel has been unrounded, so that *y*=*i*.

In Middle English, since OE *y* had become unrounded, the letter *y* when retained denoted simply an *i*-vowel. In French from the outset *y* was only a graphic variant of *i*. Hence both English and French spelling contributed to the very common ME *y*=OE *ȳ̆* or *ī̆*, or Fr. *i* (*y*). The choice of spelling, as between *y* and *i*, was fluctuating and arbitrary, but with certain more or less marked tendencies. The use of *y* in diphthongs, e.g., *poyson*, *poyntes*, was distinctively French (cf. above, p. 345). The avoidance by use of *y*, of confusion between the undotted *i* and the strokes of *m*, *n*, etc., is common to English and continental MSS, and the habit lingered after the invention of printing. In some texts *y* is especially preferred for the long vowel. For the principles governing the Modern English use of *y* or *i*, so far as there are any, cf. Jespersen, *Modern English Grammar*, I, 70 ff.

The use of *y* with consonantal value came in from the French in words like *payen*, *destruye*, etc. (cf. above, p. 345). In later Middle English this *y* was substituted for ȝ in native words like *pleyen*, *yēar*, *yērne*.

The Welsh *y*, with its various values, rests on the ME *y* as a variant of *i*, and has no connection with the specific OE use. Compare Rhŷs, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, pp. 264 ff.

In the continental Germanic languages, just as in the Romance languages, the use of *y* was based on contemporary Latin spelling. In Old Frisian, Old Dutch, Old Saxon, and Old High German texts, *y* occurs in words of Greek origin, including such cases as *paradys* (cf. above, p. 344), and occasionally for *i* in native words. In Middle Dutch and later, *y* was very common for *ii* or *ij* (representing West Germanic *ī*, but pronounced as a diphthong *ei*), present *ij*. In Old High German, *y* was used by Otfried in a few words like *yr-*=*ir-*, earlier *ur-*. This personal spelling and his remark (*ad Liutbertum* 52 ff.) regarding an intermediate sound, "ibi y grecum mihi videbatur ascribi," reminds one of the similar advocacy of the spelling *proxymus* by Marius Victorinus (cf. above, p. 344 n.). The *y* may also occur for the mutated *u*, but only because it was a graphic variant of *i* which was sometimes written instead of the usual *ui*, *iu* (later *ú*, *ü*); *y* was never regularly employed with this specific value in German,[1] as it was in Old English and Scandinavian. In Luther's time the use of *y*=*i* had become extremely common, especially in certain positions (final, initial, with *n*, *m*, etc., in diphthongs); and it remained common down into the early nineteenth century. Since the orthographical reforms it has been discarded except in proper names and some words of Greek or other foreign origin.

We turn last to the Balto-Slavic languages. In the Old Prussian remains (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), which were written by Germans and reflect the contemporary German spelling, *y* is a frequent variant of *i*. It is used indiscriminately, beside *i*, for both short and long *i*, and is especially common in diphthongs (*deywan*, *turretwey*, etc.). In one text, however, the Enchiridion, the *y* is rare, while *ij*=*ī* is common. In Lettic likewise *y* is a variant of *i* in the early texts, but later it went out of use.

In early Lithuanian texts (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) *i* and *y* are used indiscriminately for short and long *i*. The present differentiation, by which *y* is used for the long vowel only, seems to go back to the grammar of Klein, who was led to it by the identification of *y* with *ij*. "Tertium est i productum aut geminatum (quemadmodum Veteres omnes vocales longas geminare solebant), et ita scribitur ij vel contracte *y*."[2]

In the Slavic languages that are written in the Latin alphabet (for the Y in Cyrillic, see above, p. 343) the basis of the early orthography was mainly German. In the earliest Polish and Bohemian texts both *i* and *y* are used indiscriminately for Slavic *i* or *j* and for Slavic *y* from *ū*, e.g., in Polish, *y*=*i* 'and,' *imenu*, *ymenu*=*imieniu*, *moy*, *twoy*=*moj*, *twoj*, *yest*=*jest*,—*gdi*, *gdy*=*gdy*, *sina*, *syna*=*syna*, *bi*, *by*=*by*; in Bohemian, *y*=*i* 'and,' *zywota*=*zivota*, *moy*, *twoy*=*můj*, *tvůj*—*kdiz*, *kdys*=*kdyz*, *byty*=*byti*. The differentiation by which *y* was employed specifically for the Slavic *y* from *ū* was advocated by Huss for Bohemian (cf. Gebauer, *Mluv. Jaz. Česk.*, I, 279) and gradually gained acceptance, and was adopted also in Polish. In present Bohemian the vowel has been fronted to *i*, so that the spelling has only historical significance.

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[1] Except in certain regions where it was clearly due to Danish or Swedish influence. Cf. Lasch, *Mittelnied. Gram.*, sec. 45.

[2] *Klein*, *Grammatica Litvanica* (1653), p. 8, quoted by Bezzenberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache*, p. 26. Klein's further remark that the vowel was pronounced like German *ü* does not accord with the fact or with his own designation of it as "i productum," unless we understand that the German ü with which he was familiar was unrounded.

The names of Y. The Greek name was ὖ (so, with ῾ as in all cases of initial υ in Attic). The name ὖ ψιλόν is late, originating in the instructions of Byzantine grammarians, at a time when υ and οι were pronounced alike, as to when the spelling should be with the diphthong and when with the ὖ ψιλόν, the simple υ. The Romans used the Greek names for the borrowed *z* and *y*, and the name of *y*, though not directly quotable, must have been *hy*. In the later pronunciation this name was no longer to be distinguished from that of *i*, and it was replaced by *y graeca* or *y graecum*. Hence Fr. *i grec*, Ital. *i greca*, Span. *y griega*, while in German the current Greek name is adopted. In Welsh, and in Danish and Swedish, the *y* is called by its distinctive sound. A curiosity of nomenclature is the use of *filius*, OFr. *fix*=*fius*, Ital. *fio*, which, according to an explanation going back to Aldus Minutius, quoted by Sheldon, *Studies in Philology*, I, 79 ff., originated in the formula ΠΥΑ=Πατήρ, Ὑιός, Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

The history of our English name for *y* has been much discussed, the most important articles being those of Havet, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, VI, 79 ff., and of Sheldon, *Studies in Philology*, I, 75 ff.; II, 163 ff. The name occurs in the spelling *wi* in a gloss to the Ormulum, and in the Wanley catalogue. A corresponding continental form *VI* is convincingly inferred by Havet from the Old French verses

> La maniere dirai du *Y*
> Deus letres samble au non *Y*

reading *VI* at the end of the second line.[1] The form *gui* is attested in a thirteenth-century MS (Havet, p. 80) and as *guy* in an English ABC of 1552 (Sheldon, I, 78). The *uui* of Gregory of Tours, *Hist.*

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[1] Sheldon's criticisms or reservations (*op. cit.*, II, 166–67) do not seem to me to shake the credibility of Havet's inference. For the readings of the two known MSS, cf. now Långfors, *Huon le roi de Cambrai*, pp. viii and 36. The text used by Havet and Sheldon was that of A. C has *del vi* at the end of the first line (=l. 359 of the poem). The meter requires here a monosyllable (to be pronounced *wi*), as also in l. 380. At the end of the second line (360) we must understand U.I, that is the "deus lettres" pronounced separately. The proper reading is given by Långfors p. ix, not in his main text.

Franc., V, 44, is best left out of account, since it is almost certainly not meant as a name of *y*. The name must have been at first dissyllabic *ui*, later monosyllabic *ui*, pronounced *wi*, whence again the *gui* with *gu* for *w* as in Germanic words (*gui* : *ui*, Eng. *wi*, as *guaster: uastare*, Eng. *waste*, Havet).

What is the source of this name *VI?* The explanation which Sheldon, *op. cit.*, I, 77 ff., offered as a tentative suggestion was complicated and unconvincing, and seems to be tacitly withdrawn by its author, *op. cit.*, II, 171, where he is inclined to accept the following view. Holthausen, *Zeitschrift für franz. Sprache*, XV, 172, asserts that the name must have originally denoted the Gothic $Y = w$. Sheldon says of this explanation, "Very likely it is the correct one," and he is presumably responsible for the statement in Webster's *International Dictionary:* "The name *wi* is prob. from OF (assumed) *wi*, var. of *gui*, fr. LL. *wi*, perh. from a name of the Gothic letter having the sound of English *w*, but the form of Gr. *Y*." But is it not most improbable that the value of *Y* in the Gothic alphabet should have any bearing on the name current in Western Europe?

Duvau, *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, VIII, 188 ff., points to the not infrequent transcription of Greek *υ* by *ui* and conversely of Latin *ui* by *υ*, mainly where a guttural precedes and where therefore the Latin *u* was pronounced *w* not *v*, e.g., *quines* = *κύνες*, Κυρεῖνα = *Quirina*, and suggests that there may have been a school pronunciation of the Greek Y as *ui* (*wi*), which gave rise to the name. Schulze, *Ber. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, p. 783, says "Das angelsächs.-island. *VI* ist eine willküriche Combination der beiden Vocalen, zwischen denen der Laut *ü*, zu dessen Darstellung das fremde Zeichen dienen sollte, in der Mitte lag." Both Duvau and Schulze have in common the idea that the *VI* is based on a rough analysis of the *sound*. Now it is true we do not know precisely when and where the name originated, and it would perhaps be rash to deny the possibility of some such connection with the sound. But certainly the probability is that where the vowel had a distinctive sound it was still called by this sound, and that the name was first applied to the continental $y = i$, that is, when the distinctive sound had been lost, but the letter remained.

Hence by far the simplest explanation is that of Havet, to wit, that the name is based on the *form* of the letter (cf. the late Greek name *digamma* for the F), that is $Y = Y + I$.

A FRENCH ETYMOLOGY: Fr. *bis*, Ital. *bigio*

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The difficulties about the etymology of this word are of long standing. To Littré it was still "a word whose origin is difficult to find"; nor was the *Dictionnaire général* (1900) more helpful, for *s.v. bis* we learned merely that it was "of the same family as Italian *bigio*." Hoare's excellent *Italian Dictionary* (1915) had no new suggestion to offer. On the other hand, there are also some unexplained matters in the history of the provenients of Lat. būteo (see Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, No. 1423), while the *Oxford Dictionary, s.v. buzzard,* says: "The mutual relation of these words is unknown; they are commonly assumed to be derived from Lat. buteonem of the same meaning, but the process of formation is not evident."

As to Fr. *bis* and Ital *bigio*, the etymons hitherto pressed into service have been two, bombycius and bysseus, neither of them wholly satisfactory either as to form or as to meaning.

The -bycius of Diez, Meyer-Lübke and others, is the acephalous body of an adjective bombycius "of cotton, or silk," "dark colored," a Greek word said to have been used by color-makers and dyers of wool. This in turn takes us farther back to Gk. bombyx, "silk worm." For the total loss of the first syllable, we do indeed have a parallel in Fr. *basin*, for *bombasin*, Eng. *bombazine*, the first syllable having been mistaken in French for the adjective *bon*. Diez evidently proposed -bycius with much hesitation, but it was defended as late as 1903 by A. Horning.[1] Even were it satisfactory as to meaning, there are serious phonetic difficulties, for bycius would have given us in OFr. either **buiz* or **biz*, according as the Gr. upsilon were pronounced with the earlier long (*ū*) or with the later long (ī); we should have had neither **buis* nor *bis*, Patricius being in OFr. *Patriz*, and radīcem OFr. *raïz*. Nor does it help matters to say, with Horning, that *bis* is "half learned," or bookish, for the facts as to Fr. *bis* and Ital. *bigio* point in exactly the opposite direction: these are certainly not *mots savants* and never have been.

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[1] *Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, XXVII, 347.

Diez, after proposing bombycius, as it seems, "without conviction," inclined, at the end of his article, to a supposed adjective *bysseus, formed like igneus, osseus from Gk. bùssos, byssus, a word which occurs in the Vulgate (Prov. 31:32, Apoc. 18:16, Luke 16:19) and of which the history was given with some fulness by Althof, in 1905, in a note to his edition of the *Waltharii Poesis* (II, 103). It has there, as in the Vulgate, the meaning of "fine linen." Isidore of Seville mentions the word with the meaning "white wool"; it is found in OFr. as *bisse* (see Godefroy) and also in its Latin forms *bissus*, *bissum*. The objections to this etymon are three: the adjective itself is not instanced; the meaning is not suitable; the voiceless *-ss-* would never have produced the intervocalic *-z-* of Fr. *bise*. To meet this last difficulty, A. G. Ott proposed a "starred form" *byseus (which is not instanced) and supposed the meaning to have passed from "of cotton color," to "of gray cotton color," then "dark gray," "gray-brown."[1]

In what follows, the effort is made to connect the adjective *bis* with Lat. būteo, būteōnem "a kind of falcon," the proposition advanced being that the adjective is one of those which have been derived from the plumage of birds.

From Lat. būteonem, "a kind of hawk, or falcon," we have quite regularly OFr. *buison* (cf. potione *poison*, titione *tison*); from *buison*, in some way, the common word *buse* "a kind of buzzard" has been said to derive, as well as *buisart*, *busart* and numerous other derivatives to be mentioned later.

The diphthong (*üi*) is in OFr. notably unstable: it is readily reduced to (*ü*) on the one hand, or to (*i*) on the other, especially after a labial consonant. ModFr. *lutte* was in OFr. *luite* (Lat. lucta) and the third of the trio, *lite*, seems to be instanced by rhymes in Crestien de Troyes (*Erec* 3363, *Yvain* 2738; cf. Foerster's note, p. 305); ModFr. *vide* "empty" is older *vuide*, cf. Eng. *void;*

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[1] *Étude sur les Couleurs en vieux français*, Paris, 1899, p. 40.

the three forms *buire, bure,* and *bire* are all well authenticated[1]; Nyrop also mentions both *bisson* and *busson,* reductions of the normal *buisson* "bush." Eng. *bruise* and Fr. *briser* from OFr. *bruisier* also show the double reduction; OHG *bungo* appears in OFr. as *buigne,* whence both *bugne* and *bigne,* the latter used by Villon, while *La Bigne* is a place name in Normandy.

From *buison,* therefore, we should look for a *buson* and a **bison* as by-forms: the former (*buson*) is found frequently, and it is probably from *buson* that we have *buse.* At least, with Horning and Meyer-Lübke, I consider *buse* a regressive formation from *buson*[2]; their explanation is probably to be preferred to that of the *Dictionnaire général,* which would construct for *buse* a supposed VL *butia, fem. < buteo, masc.

Buison, as it seems, came in time to be taken to be a stem *buis-* plus a suffix *-on;* this suffix, when applied to animals, is usually diminutive in force: examples are *aiglon, ânon, levron, cochon, bichon.*[3] A remarkable case of the process in question is *dindon: coq d'Inde* was first shortened to *dinde* (fem.) "a turkey"; then, at some time before the sixteenth century, *dindon* (masc.) appears in the meaning "a young turkey," while *dindart* was used for "a large turkey"; later, *dindon* appears as the common word for "turkey" with *dinde* as its feminine, while for "small turkey" another diminutive *dindonneau* was then needed, and was created. There are also numerous cases where *-on* has been added to feminine nouns designating other than animals, the resulting word being, like *buson,* masculine: such are *oreillon* (used by Rostand) from *oreille, aiguillon* from *aiguille, bataillon, chaînon* "a link," *jambon;* if then *buison, buson* in the lapse of time were misunderstood to be diminutive, there is nothing to surprise in the creation, inversely, of a feminine *buse* (or earlier **buise*) as the apparent simplex; while *buisart, busart,* Eng. *buzzard,* would then be used for the larger species.[4] So little is the matter of different gender an obstacle to these pairs that we have in ModFr. a diminutive *Luçon* (masc.!) made to *Lucie*, a *Linon* to *Céline*, while *mon mignon* is freely used in speaking to girls.[1]

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[1] Cf. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique,* I² sec. 455, 1°.

[2] *Zeit. f. roman. Phil.,* IX, 501; *Etymolog. Wtb.,* N° 1423.

[3] Cf. Nyrop, *op. cit.,* III, secs. 283–84.

[4] A different explanation might be suggested by two recent articles by Garcia de Diego, in *Modern Philology,* XVI, 579, and *Revista de Filologia española,* VI, 283. Alongside *pavo—pavonem,* Lat. had also *pavus—pavum,* to which was added later a fem. *pava* (Ausonius); *pavonem* survives in Fr. *paon, pavum* in Sp. *pavo,* and *pava*

There seems to be no difficulty, therefore, in the passage from a masculine *buison*, *buson*, misunderstood as a compound, to a feminine **buise* or *buse*, as the designation of the common bird; the ornithologists today perpetuate the ancient connection by classifying the *buses* under the genus buteo. A current French proverb, found as early as the twelfth century, is: "You cannot make a hunting-hawk out of a buzzard":

Ja de *buisot* ne ferez esprevier

say the *Proverbes au Vilain*, 41 (var. *busart*, *buisart*). In quoting this proverb, the noble bird of the duo is always the *épervier*, "sparrow-hawk," while the ignoble bird, in my next oldest example (Robert of Blois, thirteenth century) is a *buison;* for Gautier de Coincy, he has become a *buisart;* in the *Roman de la Rose*, for Eustache Deschamps and for Jean Marot, he was also a *busart* (*buzart*); but in the modern dictionaries the word is always *buse*. Evidently a time came when *buison* was no longer apt for the comparison, because it had changed to mean "small" or "young" of the species. By the sixteenth century, the original form *buison* was known only by written tradition: Henri Estienne knew it, but employed himself *buisart* or *busart*.[2]

It is plain, in my opinion, that *buison*, *buson*, *buse*, *buisard*, *busard*, are all of one family, and a large family it was. In fact, more than thirty-three species of *buses* are known. The French farmer or peasant calls any hawklike bird, smaller than the eagle and larger than the sparrow-hawk, a *buse*. Rolland[3] lists a surprising number of

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in OFr. *poe*, later *poue*. Was there, then, in Vulgar Latin a masc. **buteus*, and a fem. **butia?* Thus, perhaps, the etymon of A. Thomas, in the *Dictionnaire général*, might be justified. At the same time, **butia* would have given *buise*, not *buse*.

With *pavo* and *buteo* might be considered **muscio*, "sparrow," from which we have OFr. *moisson*, probably also ModFr. *moineau;* OFr. must have had *mosche*, for it survives as Dutch *musche* (cf. Jud, in *Zeit. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 62) and in OFr. *moschet*, now *mouchet*. *Moisson* gave us the adjective *mois* "deceitful," "stupid" which is OFr. and OProv., and furnishes a good parallel to our adjective **buis*, *bis* from *buteo*. For the form, cf. the adjective *lois*, fem. *losche*, now *louche*.

[1] Cf. Tobler, *Sitzungsb. Preuss. Akad.*, 1908, p. 1026.

[2] *Précellence* (ed. Humbert), p. 314.

[3] *Faune populaire de la France*, II, 11 ff.

folk names for these birds. Daudin's *Ornithologie* (1800) enters a *Falco gallicus,* or *Buse Jean-le-Blanc,* which, the author says, is more common in France than elsewhere in Europe: it frequents inhabited places, especially outlying farms and hamlets; of heavy flight, it hunts only in the morning and toward evening, often snatching young chickens and ducks from the yards of the unwary. There are, also, according to Daudin, the *buse bondrée* (which Rabelais mentions), the *busard commun,* and the *busard buson,* all of these being old-fashioned terms now superseded. Strange it would be if so common a bird had not furnished some elements to the folk vocabulary: in passing these in review we may at the same time be on the lookout for some which may help to connect the *buse* with the adjective *bis,* which is the main purpose of this essay.

Aside from its color (which I shall leave to the last), the common *buse* seems to have fixed popular attention because of a peculiar habit: it will sit motionless for several hours on a tree, snag, or post, erect like an owl, waiting with inexhaustible patience for its prey. The bird has poor eyesight in the daytime; it appears to be inert and stupid: Gilbert White, in his *Natural History of Selbourne,* calls it "a dastardly bird," and all agree in classifying it among the ignoble and the pusillanimous. From the reputation for inertness, we have the verb *buiser, buser* "to lie low," "to be lost in thought." Thus Froissart: *il buisa un petit* "he reflected a moment," also in the Picard region *busier, buisier* = "penser," "réfléchir," "rêver"; at Lille and Valenciennes: *il a des busietes* = "he is absorbed in his thoughts." Herzog[1] enters the verb *buzer, buzier* from the departments of the Somme and the Nord: *il avuę bio büzé* = "in vain did he reflect" (he could think of no expedient). In Normandy, *busoquer* means "passer son temps à des riens." Very frequently this abstraction is attributed to stupidity. In Rabelais (V, chap. viii), there is a sleepy bishop whom Panurge calls an "old buze" because he is indifferent to the singing of a beautiful abbess. "It will be noticed," remarks Nyrop, "that language very generally attributes to birds the palm for stupidity. Hence, no doubt, the expression, 'donner à quelqu'un des noms d'oiseaux' (=lui dire des injures)," and he cites *buse, buson, butor, dinde, dindon, grue, oie, pie-grièche,* and *serin.*

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[1] *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte,* sec. 302.

In older French, we gather from Godefroy's dictionary the substantives *bus, bussot* and *buson,* all meaning "stupide," or "homme stupide"; Provençal has an adjective *buzoc, buzac,* whence no doubt the English name *Buzack.* Similarly, *buzzard* in English dialects means at times "a coward," "a stupid fellow;" and a *buzwig* is "a stupid, ponderous dignitary." From *buison* derive directly *buisnard* and *buisnardie,* meaning "imbécile" and "imbécillité," "niaiserie," "sottise":

> Bien est buissoz, bien est buissons
> Qui ne la [i.e., la Vierge] quiert. ...

says Gautier de Coincy.

But while the "watchful waiting" of the *buse* attracted the attention of some observers, it occurred to others that this motionlessness might after all be a pose, a sham; it might be an evidence of cunning, and not of stupidity. Hence, as it seems, we have a second development which ascribes to the bird deceit and cunning. Saint *Busart* (var. *Buisart*) is a facetious name for the devil in the OFr. *Vie de St.-George,* not (surely) because the devil is inactive or stupid, but because he is the deceiver par excellence. The troubadour Marcabrun denounces an enemy as a *buzartz d'enjan* "a buzzard for deceit"; a fifteenth-century *Nef des Dames vertueuses,* by a certain Champier, has this passage:

> Pour vous garder qu'on ne vous buse,
> Dames, ou bonté est infuse,
> Ayez devant vous par ymage
> Ceste nef. ...

Very interesting, now, is an entry in Levy's smaller Provençal Dictionary: *bis* 1° *de couleur bise;* 2° *faux, trompeur* (?) for the second definition is the first trace found of the expected *i*-form due to the reduction of (*üi*) to (*i*), and we may place it parallel to Gautier de Coincy's *bus* "foolish"; both, I take it, are secondary meanings and both are secondary forms from the parent substantive **buis* from *buison.* Unfortunately, Levy's entry was left without the text reference.[1]

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[1] The Godefroy-Salmon dictionary lists a verb *biser* = "courir follement." Their definition is a mere guess, but it may be noted that the buses and buzzards, like the English kites, fly in circles: the meaning may be "to fly around in the same place and make no progress." But again we are left without the reference. In view of OFr. *abuisoner* "to deceive," the question may be raised whether ModFr. *abuser* may not owe something to Lat. *buteonem.*

Coming now to the question of color, we may first mention the Portuguese *buzio*, or *bugio*, an adjective meaning *fusco, denegrido*, and which is currently derived from the Fr. *buse*, "because of the dark color of this bird" (Solano Constancio's dictionary). The variation of vowel between Portg. *buzio* and Ital. *bigio* has never been satisfactorily explained, but it is clear enough when we have a form in (*üi*) as the common starting-point.

We may devote a moment to the derivation of color names, or rather the names for unusual shades of color, from the skins of well-known animals or the plumage of common birds: we use in Eng. *fawn*, in Fr. *taupe, sor* (which is the particular shade of smoked herring) whence *sorel*, Eng. *sorrel;* and *puce;* from birds, cf. *dove, raven, canary*-yellow, *peacock*-blue. The last is an especially good case in point, for "peacock," I am told, is as much a blue as a green and quite as much a green as a blue. Precisely the same is true of Fr. *bis:* it is a brownish-gray or a grayish-brown, *gris-brun* says Littré; *pain bis* is both "brown bread," and "rye bread" or "pumpernickel," which is grayish. *Bis*, originally at least, was a very definite shade, one that required some concrete standard, a standard ready at hand and negotiable, so to speak, to identify it. The adjective bombycius and the supposed adjective *bysseus, if they meant (as is said) merely "dark colored," would be entirely too vague to satisfy the demands of the case. Now it is precisely a dark gray-brown which predominates in the plumage of the *buse* family: although the colors are variable, both with the species and with age, we find these terms constantly recurring: dark chestnut, dull chestnut, darkish, dark gray, brownish rust color, dark brown, blackish. The common *buse* is of a solid dark grayish-brown (or brownish-gray): see the excellent plate in Temminck's *Oiseaux d'Europe*, Atlas, Vol. I (Paris, 1842). The *buse*, or *aigle St. Jean le Blanc*, which, as we have seen from Daudin (his *Falco gallicus*), is especially common in France, is of a "brun foncé" above and of a "gris-brun" below. Sharp, in the *British Museum Catalogue*,[1] used the term "sooty brown" of the *buteo vulgaris;* Audubon, *Birds of America* (I, 39) called it "ashy brown." The variety of these terms reveals the difficulty felt in conveying exactly the idea of a definite shade of color; alone, neither "brun" nor "gris" was accurate enough.

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[1] "Accipitres," London, 1874, I, 186.

Just when the intervocalic *-te-* (or *-tj-*) of words like buteone, potione, ratione, VL pretiare became *-is-* (=ϕ *iz*) is not well known: it is one of the "Romanische Streitfragen" studied by Herzog (1904, secs. 56–69). At the time when the VL groups *-tj-* and *-sj-* had reached the stage of a palatalized (*ź*), it would be natural if the word (or the stem) were Latinized with the spelling *-si-*, because words with *-si-* furnished the largest and the typical contingent of cases which gave *-is-* (=ϕ *iz*): VL masione *maison*, basiare *baisier*, occasione OFr. *achaison*. Here, then, is the needed explanation of three entries in Du Cange's *Glossarium* of Medieval Latin:

1. busio "aquilae species, timidior vel ineptior . . . . nostris *buse*." This, evidently, is *buteo, butio* on its way to **buis* (cf. OFr. *puis* <pŭteum). In this section, Du Cange quotes an undated Burgundian charter which mentions a certain Beraldus who was surnamed *Busio*—deservedly, says the document. This Beráldus was (unhappily) either stupid or deceitful.

The other two entries are still more interesting:

2. busius "color saxonice *fealu*," an entry in the Glosses of Aelfric (end of the tenth century). So far as I have noted, the Latin part of Aelfric's entry has hitherto remained unexplained: Bosworth-Toller, at any rate, print busius with a question mark. The meaning, however, corresponds to Fr. *bis* in quite a satisfactory way: OE *fealu* (now *fallow*) meant, in the older period, "of a pale brownish color, as of withered grass or dead leaves"; as Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, vs. 506:

> His hewe *falwe* and pale as asshen colde.

Here the gray of ashes and the brown of dead leaves agree exactly with the brownish-gray of the *buteo vulgaris*.

3. Du Cange also entered a gloss found in a MS of Papias (Bib. Nat., *fonds St. Germain* 501): "Bussus pinguis, obesus." This would seem to be the OFr. *bus* "heavy, stupid," Latinized; we mentioned this Fr. form above, as instanced in rhyme in the thirteenth century (Gautier de Coincy). Elsewhere in Du Cange we find also adjectives bissus and bisius; these require no comment.

I am uncertain as to what may be the correct explanation of a peculiar use of the adjective *bis* in OFr. In passages in the *Chanson* *d'Antioche,*[1] and in *Gui de Bourgogne,*[2] we have the expression *murs d'araine bis,* while the *Chanson des Saisnes* speaks of *murs d'araine bise.* It is well known that in ModFr. a noun used adjectively, such as *marron* "chestnut," *paille* "straw," *cerise* "cherry" is, at first, invariable for gender and number: they speak of *un ruban rose, la Revue saumon.*[3] Clédat, in his *Grammaire raisonnée,* is at pains to argue that such adjectives should at least be variable for number and take on the plural *-s* (cf. sec. 251). In *araine bis* "dark sandstone," the word from Lat. *arena* is of course feminine; may it be that *bis* is here still the bird name and hence invariable?[4] Elsewhere, as noted above, we have *araine bise,* like the *roche bise,* the *pierre bise* of many other OFr. passages; is *bise* of later formation, like the masculine *violet* to the originally invariable *violette?* Or, is the adjective attracted into agreement to the principal noun, giving up its agreement with the complementary noun?

We have not yet approached the Ital. adjective *bigio* nor asked what light the proposed etymology, if it be the true one, would throw upon its meaning. *Bigio* is a favorite adjective with Dante, being especially frequent in the *Inferno.* Two questions arise: Is *bigio* a loan word from the French? Does it mean merely "gray" to Dante? for, nowadays, *bigio* and *grigio* are practically identical in meaning.[5]

Lat. buteonem apparently did not come down in Italian: the birds of the group are known by other names, and *bigione* is probably of recent formation from *bigio.* If we look to the eastern French dialects, those of Lorraine and Savoy, we find there a development of Lat. intervocalic *-tj-* and *-sj-* which suggests that *bigio* may have crossed the Alps by oral contacts: *-tj-* and *-sj-* in these regions give the sound (ʒ): thus *maison* is *ma:ʒo,* or *moʒo;* the town of Maisières, to the unlearned townspeople, is *Maʒèr*, Fr. *briser* is *briʒi*, *puiser* is *püʃi*, etc.[1] Instead of *buse* we find in Berry *bège*,[2] at Montbéliard *beugeon*[3]; in these the original (*ü*) has been unrounded or relaxed to (*è*) and (*ö*). In the Vosges region, Horning found for *buison* or *buson* the form *buhõ*, where (*h*) has the sound of *ch* in G. *ach*. The eastern dialectal development of France coincided, therefore, very closely with the Tuscan (or Florentine) in which Lat. *minutie* became *minuge*, *Ambrosiu Ambrogio;* or, to take cases in which the consonant group precedes the accent, *ragione*, *pregiare*, *stagione*.[4] The dictionary "della Crusca" would derive Ital. *bigio* "from the Lat. bisius"; it then adds, with provoking vagueness, "che trovasi come soprannome nelle inscrizione antiche." Bisius, in these Old Italian inscriptions, would be, like Aelfric's busius, the fruit of the attempt to Latinize a word with palatalized *-ź-*, the commoner source of this sound (Lat. *-si-*) being chosen as a spelling because all connection with the true etymon, buteonem, had been lost sight of.[5]

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[1] "Chascun jour portent pieres aus murs d'araine bis"; I, 48.

[2] "Ont choisie d'Angórie les murs d'araine bis"; vs. 3226.

[3] Cf. Nyrop, *op. cit.,* II, sec. 642.

[4] Here, perhaps, is the remedy for the difficulty as to the gender of OFr. *porpre* in the expression *porpre bis,* Marie's *Lay of Lanval,* vss. 59, 577; OFr. *porpre* should be only feminine. In *Renart* (II, vs. 373), the three hens are named *Pinte, Bis,* and *Rosete,* but Martin corrected *Bis* to *Bise.*

[5] Professor Rajna, as R. Altrocchi kindly informs me, would apply *bigio* only to a uniform color, while *grigio* might describe a striped or spotted mixture of black and white.

The Franciscan friars were to the Italians *i frati*, or *i fraticelli bigi*. They were the Grayfriars in England, but their gowns were as often brown as gray, and this range of color is the same range we have seen in the plumage of the Fr. *buteo vulgaris*. Martial d'Auvergne (*Amant rendu Cordelier*, p. 56) speaks of the Franciscan gown as *de gris tanné*,[6] *tanné* being a yellowish shade of brown. Mrs. Jameson (*Legends of the Monastic Orders*) states that the Franciscan color was originally—in the first two centuries—gray, but later a dark brown was used.

One other problem may be approached. In the *Chanson de Roland*, that hero just before his death makes a supreme effort to break his sword Durendal: he smites first, we are told, upon *une pierre bise* (vs. 2300) and again, thirty-eight lines below, upon *une*

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[1] See Herzog's *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte*, sec. 302.

[2] Whence the adjective *beige*, in the modern dictionaries. HDT quote Gautier of Coincy: *Bruns ou bis ou bèges*, and define "d'un gris jaunâtre."

[3] Rolland, *Faune populaire*, II, 11.

[4] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Ital. Gram.*, secs. 247, 249.

[5] Cf. C. C. Rice, *The Pronunciation of Gallic Clerical Latin*, p. 82: excavasione, vacuasione, etc., from the ninth century.

[6] Var. *gros tanné*, *gros* meaning here "coarse cloth."

pierre byse. In the second passage, we note that the word is spelled *byse*[1] in the Oxford MS, while the assonance definitely requires either (*ü*) or (*üi*). The editors generally have looked upon the reading *byse* as faulty, and have suppressed it in favor of *brune*, the reading of the MS known as Venice IV. The inquiry arises, in view of the theory of the origin of *bis* set forth above, whether the (*ẏ*) of the Bodleian MS may not be understood as representing (*ü*) or (*üi*), in which case, of course, no emendation would be needed.[2] A permissible conjecture may be that the scribe of the Oxford *Roland*, seeing that a form with either (*üi*) or (*ü*) was plainly called for by the assonance, wrote the word *buse* (or *buise*) with *Y*, either because he knew that, in OE, *y* = phonetic (*ü*), or else because the name of the letter (*y*) in OFr. was UI. But we do not know what was in his original nor whether the supposed form *buse* (or *buise*) was obsolete or only archaic to him. One thing is sure: forms of this adjective with (*u*) certainly once existed, as is proved by Aelfric's tenth-century form busius. The reading of the Oxford MS had therefore best not be meddled with: let us be wise and write it "byse," as the scribe did, and, as he did, leave it to the philologer-reader of after years to puzzle over.

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[1] Similarly, *aucae bysiae vel grisiae* are mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topog. Hib.*, I, chap. xviii. Does this bysius equate Aelfric's busius or is it to be read bisius?

[2] Even J. Bédier, who speaks with such extreme severity of editors who abandon the readings of Oxford, reads here *perre brune;* see his *Chanson de Roland*, 1922, p. 174.

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME ENGLISH ETYMOLOGIES

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The etymologies to be discussed here are those given in the *New English Dictionary* (*NED*) or *Oxford English Dictionary* for certain words. It is hardly necessary to say that I have the greatest admiration for that work, which, for full and felicitous presentation of the meanings and history of each word and of many idiomatic phrases, has not its equal among dictionaries of the modern languages. But, like all human productions, it is not perfect; it does not contain all the words in actual use, many new words, for example, having appeared within the last few years, which were unknown in English while the first volumes were in course of publication. In particular, the etymologies do not always reflect the more recent progress made in our knowledge of the history of words, and unfortunately this is sometimes true of words whose history was better known at the time of appearance of different parts of the work than appears from what we find in print under those words.

Almost all the words here discussed came into English from Old French (OFr.), and perhaps no other group of words can be said to offer more difficulties, particularly as to the question whether a given word, almost always a learned or only literary or technical word, came to us from French or directly from Latin. To be sure, to most people, if the ultimate source is Latin, it may seem a matter of little or no importance whether the immediate source was French or not. But it must be remembered that if the word really came from French, it is not always certain that it would have entered English if French had not been a way station, so to speak. And the student of linguistic history naturally wishes to be able to weigh the relative importance of French and Latin as contributors to the English vocabulary. How much of that "learned length and thunderous sound" which we associate with Latin belongs really to the credit (or maybe sometimes the discredit) of French? True, it must be admitted that of the learned literary words ultimately from Latin which we actually took from French almost all would have been recognized by every literary man as of Latin origin.

Several of the following words were first discussed by me before the Modern Language Conference at Harvard University, or were brought up for discussion at meetings of the Romance Seminary at different times during the last fifteen years or more. Those appearing in Webster's *New International Dictionary* with my etymology and not with that found in *NED* (there are of course others which I do not mention here) are marked with an asterisk. The limits of this article would not allow discussion of all the words for which I do not accept, or accept only with modifications, the etymologies in *NED*. Doubtless the editors of that monumental work have collected or received from others a large body of additions and corrections which may appear after the work has reached a provisional conclusion. It is also probable that several of my criticisms have been anticipated by others.[1]

*ABAVE, *v.*, *obs.*

Here we read in the etymology (which I do not quote in full): "No Fr. form *abavir* is cited by Godef., but its rise from *ababir* [=*abaubir*] would be regular." I should prefer to say: and its rise from *ababir* would not be regular. If the ME(=Middle English) word does go back to OFr. *abaubir* I see no better explanation than a dissimilation of *b—b* to *b—v*. This might explain the rhyme with *saued* (from Fr. *sauver*) and the spelling with *w* (*abawe*=*abauue*, i.e., *abauve*). But this does not seem to me more than a possibility. It may be observed that the etymology of *abob* occurring at about the same time as *abave*, and perhaps the same word as *abaubir*, mentions the spelling *abaubier* as OFr., doubtless on Godefroy's authority. But in Volume VIII of Godefroy's work, among the errata in Volume I we see that he suppresses the article *abaubier*. I do not feel quite sure that OFr. *abober* is the same word as *abaubir*.

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[1] Since writing this article I have noticed that Weekley's *Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* also explains *lettuce* as originally a plural of the French word. Doubtless the author reached the etymology independently. I leave the article unchanged because my explanation here is naturally fuller than is well possible in a dictionary of such size as either his work or Webster's dictionary.

ACIER, *obs.;* ALSO ASSER

There is only one quotation, dated 1866, but the needed early instance is given under *aser* to which a reference from *acier* is desirable, in view of the words, "properly Fr., but occ. used in early Eng."; but *aser* can hardly be called French simply.

*ADMIT

The etymology in *NED* runs thus: "orig. a. OFr. *amettre:*—L. *admittere* to let to or into: f. *ad* to + *mittere* to send, let go. In 15th c. the Fr. was refashioned after L. as *admettre,* in the wake of which the Eng. also became *admit.*" The *Dict. Général* gives nothing earlier than the fifteenth century for the appearance in French of *admettre,* though it can hardly be supposed that the OFr. *amettre* (better *ametre*) was unknown. And in English the earliest quotation in *NED* is dated 1413, and it shows the spelling with *d* (*admytted,* p.p). If the word occurs in Guillaume de Deguilleville (or Digulleville), Lydgate's source, then it would seem that *admettre* in French is older than the fifteenth century. But the corresponding passage in the French poem has not the word. Leaving this point for the moment, we may observe that if the Fr. *admettre* or an older French *ametre* is the source of the English word, then the latter should have in the accented syllable, at first at least, an *e* and not an *i,* the *i* clearly pointing to Latin as the true source, or at least to a strong influence of the Latin; in any case the French origin of the English word, apparently not older than the fifteenth century, becomes very doubtful. The variation in English between *ad* and *a* as the first syllable is easy to understand; it is the result of many older English words beginning with *a* from French in verbs beginning in Latin with *ad,* the *d* being due to the refashioning so common at the time.

Let us come now to the OFr. *ametre.* The word existed and it is to be found in Godefroy. Nor is it an uncommon word, but it is not from Latin *admittere* and is not the parent of the French *admettre,* as its meanings given in Godefroy clearly show, for it does not mean "admit" nor anything like that. Even Foerster in his useful *Wörterbuch* to the works of Chrétien de Troyes seems not to have seen the truth, indicating as he does, *ad-mittere* for the source, like *ad-venire* for *avenir*.[1] And I myself implied at the end of the etymology of *admit* in Webster's *New International Dictionary* that OFr. *ametre* was the old form of *admettre*. In reality OFr. *ametre* is a compound formed in French from *a* (which is from Latin *ad*) and *metre*, now spelt *mettre*, the simple verb meaning "to put," not "to send," and the compound is literally "to put to, to attach" (as a seal), but the commonest sense of *ametre* is "to impute" (as blame) to a person, "to accuse" one. This verb, long since obsolete in French, was, it appears from one or two of Godefroy's later quotations, occasionally spelled with *ad* (perhaps the last quotation, for the sense, in reflexive use, "entreprendre" really belongs to *admettre*). It seems never to have found its way into English.

It must, I think, be admitted that the English word is from Latin even though some uses of this verb and of some descendants of other compounds of Latin *mittere* may have been influenced by corresponding French verbs. There is one Latin compound, *amittere*, which gave us the obsolete *amit*, "to lose," for which the oldest quotation in *NED* is dated 1525. It apparently gave nothing in French. And most of the compounds of Latin *mittere* which have come into English, if not all of them, are, I think, also direct borrowings from Latin and not from French.

AERIE, -RY, EYRY, -IE

It is evidently the same word as the Fr. *aire* in the same sense, and I think the latter is its main source. But this would normally give in English *air*, and I suggest that the vowel sound in the second syllable is due to the influence of the adjective *airy*, *aery*, the subconscious thought being "a nest on an airy height"; notice the various spellings of the noun and the adjective, also the two pronunciations of the noun in *NED*, one practically identical with that of the adjective, the other perhaps influenced by the spelling with *ey*. Notice also that the earliest date given for the noun is 1581, while the earliest one for the adjective (*s.v. airy*) is 1398, followed by a quotation from the year 1551. For the origin of the French *aire* compare Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. Etym. Wörterb.*, *s.v. ager*, with its mention of Prov. *agre* (see for the meaning E. Levy, *Prov. Supplement-Wörterbuch*).

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[1] Yet he may have meant to indicate by his hyphen that the compound was a French one. Under *reprover* he gives as the source *reprobare*, without hyphen, confusing two words, one meaning "to reproach" (for which *reprobare* is right), the other a compound made in French and meaning "to prove once more." See my note on *Ivain*, vs. 4694, in *Romanic Review*, XII, 309.

AIR, SENSE 12

This *air* has nothing to do with *air*, "atmosphere"; its OFr. source has two syllables, *aïr*.

*AITCH, *ACHE, NAME OF THE LETTER *H*

I refer to my first article on the origin of the English names of the letters of the alphabet, in [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, I (1892), 66–68), and also mention Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. Etym. Wörterb.*, *s.v. hakka*, and, for modern Portuguese *agá* (accented on the last syllable, pointing to *haká*) as the name of the letter, to Coelho, *Dicc. Manual Etymologico*, under *H* (the usual place for the name in dictionaries when any name is given). This Portuguese form cannot be explained by the etymology proposed in *NED* for the French and Italian names, an etymology which is improbable for other reasons also.

ALLITERATE, *v*

The verb seems to be much later than the noun *alliteration*, the first quotation for the latter being of the year 1656, while that for the former has the date 1816. This is easy to understand, for the noun is still the more familiar and the more often written of the two words. It is very probable, if indeed it is not certain, that the verb is a back-formation from the noun.

ASTRE, "HEARTH"

For the remoter origin of the OFr. word cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. Etym. Wörterb.*, *s.v. ostracum*, with the reference to *Zeitschr. für roman. Philol.*, XXII, 261.

*ATREET, ATRAYT, *obs.*

The source is correctly given in *NED* as Fr. (better OFr.) *à trait*, but the definition both for the OFr. phrase and the derived English word is, I think, not quite right. The only meaning I find in Godefroy (*s.v. trait*) is "lentement, posément, à loisir," and this is the meaning in Chrétien's *Ivain*, verse 472, and in another passage referred to in Foerster's *Wörterb.*, *s.v. tret.* For the English word the meanings are "slowly" (not given in *NED*) and hence "distinctly." The Latin *tractim*, given in the *Prompt. Parv.* quotation, is a good translation of the English word.

*AUSTIN, "AUGUSTINIAN"

NED takes this as a contraction, through *Augstin*, of *Augustin*(*e*) in the same sense, with the accent on the first syllable, *Augustin*(*e*) being the name of St. Augustine applied to an Augustinian. Further we find under *Austin* a parenthesis saying, "No *Aoustin* cited in OFr." Now, I have no *Aoustin* in the sense of an Augustinian to present, but this very word in an earlier spelling occurs as the name of the church father himself in a twelfth-century poem (it is at least in verse), not in the text itself as edited by Mall, but as a variant found in manuscripts, two of which belong to the twelfth century, the others concerned being of the thirteenth. The spelling of the name is *Aüstin* (in three syllables) while Mall's text has always *Augustin*. The poem is Philipe de Thaün's *Li Cumpoz*, one of the very earliest poems written in England in French, and Mall's edition, a very careful and excellent piece of work, was published in 1873. As to manuscripts used the editor says (p. 19): "Sie sind alle in anglonormannischem Dialect geschrieben." Now, the name *Augustinus*, even if not itself popular enough to follow the laws of popular development, was yet likely to be influenced by the popular development of the name *Augustus* as the name, not only of the emperor himself but also of the month named for him. *Augustus*, the month, became in French at first *aost* or *aüst* (both pronounced alike), later spelled *aoust*, whence the modern French *août*, hence the form *Aüstin* in three syllables is a perfectly good form of the name for continental France. And continental France is the only place from which either Philipe or the writers of the manuscripts concerned could have got the form *Aüstin*. A supposed English contraction of *Augustin*(*e*) to *Augstin*, even if it could be proved to have existed and existed early enough to have produced in England a twelfth-century French *Austin*, would have given only a word of two syllables, while Philipe's meter requires three.

I conclude that *Austin* in English, which is regularly developed from OFr. *Aüstin*, is from French, and like *Augustine* in the sense of an Augustinian is simply a special application of the name of the church father. This carries with it the personal surname and baptismal name *Austin* in modern use as of French origin.

A further question arises, one of text criticism. Did Philipe himself use the form *Augustin* (nom. case *-tins*) or *Aüstin* (nom. *-tins*)? Philipe uses either Latin forms of names or French forms as suits his convenience; either *Augustin* or *Aüstin* as the French form would fit his meter. Some light may come from an examination of the variants in the manuscripts for the passages containing the name. The manuscripts Mall used (omitting *V*, for which he had but little material, but which he found closely related to *L*) are called by him, in order of merit, *S*, *A*, *C*, *L*. Of these, he says, *S* is from the beginning of the thirteenth century, *A* belongs to the twelfth, as does *C* (after 1150), and *L* is not later than *C*.[1] According to Meyer, in the article mentioned in the footnote below, St. Augustine is mentioned as one of the author's authorities in three places in the poem, verses 241, 616, 2777. To these may be added verses 33, 61. The fragment which is the subject of his article does not contain the name. In all five places Mall prints *Augustin*(*s*). The variants are, for verse 33: *S augustin* (the printed text has the nominative *Augustins*), *L austins;* verse 61: *L austins;* for verse 241: *L austins;* verse 616: *S augustin, L* and *A austins;* verse 2777: *S agustins, A austins, C* and *L austin.* That is, of the twelfth-century MSS (*C* and *A*) *C* has *austin* once (vs. 2777), and *A* has *austin*(*s*) twice (vss. 616 and 2777), while of the two thirteenth-century MSS *S* has once (vs. 2777) *agustins* (that is, *a*, not *au*, in the first syllable), and *L* has *austin*(*s*) in all five places. *S* clearly prefers the learned *Augustin*(*s*), but in verse 2777 it indicates a more popular form with no *u* in the first syllable as possibly present in its source, and we have seen that a more popular form was really used in France. Further, for the name of the month *S* seems to have changed an earlier *aüst* to something nearer the Latin (vs. 987, where *C*, *L*, and *A* have a lacuna, and *S* is the only MS, it reads *E augustus verite* while Mall prints the more acceptable *E aüst en verte; verite* is of course a learned word; and verse 1144, where *S* shows *et august et november*, and Mall prints *E aüst e novembre;* here *august* is neither Latin nor good French; verse 1347, where *S* again has *august*, while Mall's line is *E en aüst asistrent;* verse 2879, where *S* has *et agust*, and Mall reads for the line *E aüst quatre en at;* here, too, *agust* is neither Latin nor good French and suggests *aust* in its source; in this line *L* has *et augustus*, which spoils the verse). All this, though not decisive, points toward *aüst* as Philipe's form for the name of the month, and *Aüstin* for the *name* of the man.

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[1] But P. Meyer, in an article on a fragment of a manuscript of Philipe's poem (*Romania*, XL, 70 ff.), says in a footnote (p. 70): ... "J'ai examiné le ms. de Lincoln [*L*], il y a peu d'années, et mon impression est qu'il n'est pas antérieur au milieu ou même à la fin du XIII^e siècle, tandis que le Cottonien [*C*] est certainement de la seconde moitié du XII^e." *V*, it may be added, Mall called of the twelfth or the thirteenth century; "die Angaben variieren."

*EXCISE

For this word I consider only the OFr. *acceis*, given in *NED* as the probable source of the Dutch word from which the English word comes. This *acceis*, in rhyme with *defeis* in the twelfth century, is evidently taken from verse 58 of Hippeau's edition of the *Vie de S. Thomas de Cantorbéry.* His reputation as an editor of Old French texts is not very high, but we are indebted to him particularly for this text of a very remarkable poem. He was not, to be sure, the first person to publish an edition, but his work has long been the most convenient as well as the most complete one available, and less was expected of an editor of medieval texts then than now. Bekker published the poem (from an incomplete MS) in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy in 1838. This edition did not contain the passage here concerned. But in 1844 he published, also among the *Abhandlungen* of the same academy, supplementary verses, and here we find the desired lines. They are also printed by Godefroy in his *Dictionary*, from a MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and at first sight it would seem that we accordingly have the readings of three different MSS. P. Meyer also published several hundred lines of the poem in his *Recueil d' anciens textes bas-latins, provençaux et français*, but they do not include our verse. The edition to be published by E. Walberg, announced in *Romania*, XLVII, 149, has not yet appeared to my knowledge.

The lines we need for comparison follow:

1. Bekker (1844) from British Museum MS Harl. 270 (I give the whole stanza so that the sense of the important line may be better seen):

Mult poez bien veer, mal conseil ot li reis.
il ne dust fere à clerc n'à iglise defeis,
ne tolir rien del lur, mes mettre i dur acreis.
de l'iglise prent il la corone e les leis.
mes deus l'ament, ki est uns en persones treis,

2. Hippeau's text (1859). He says, "Ms 6236 Suppl. franç. Bibl. impérial":

Mult poez bien véeir; mau conseil out li Reis.
Il ne deit faire à clerc, n'à iglise defeis,
Ne tolir rien de lur, mès mettre i pot acceis;
De l'iglise prent il la corone et les leis;
Mès deus la ment, ki est uns et persones treis.

3. Godefroy's *Dictionary*, *s.v. acrois*, from MS Richelieu 13513:

Mult poez bien veeir, mau conseil out li reis;
Il ne deit faire a clerc n'a iglise defeis,
Ne tolir rien de lur mes mettre i pot acreis.

Only a few words more are needed. Omont's *Catalogue Général des manuscrits français*, for the Bibliothèque Nationale, under No. 13513, containing the *Vie de St. Thomas de Cantorbéry*, observes that it was "publiée par C. Hippeau, Paris, 1859," and in the list of old and new numbers we find, "Numéro 2636, Numéro actuel 13513." It is easy to see that the reading *acceis* in Hippeau's edition is an error for *acreis*, and it is also easy to see why *acceis*, "a tax," is not in Godefroy's *Dictionary*. Neither the form, if it is to be derived from "**accensum*, verbal sb. f. *accēnsāre* to tax (whence OFr. *accenser*, *acenser*)," etc., nor the meaning "tax" for the supposed OFr. *acceis*, can be accepted as plausible. The OFr. words in the parenthesis indicate what is to be expected; words of such origin and meaning are, if found in OFr., pretty certain to be learned words and to retain in spelling the *n* before the *s*. There was no OFr. word *acceis*, "tax"; the word in the poem is *acreis*, "increase," which also fits the context, as a word meaning "tax" would not.

*FAY, "FAIRY"

If OFr. *acceis* is a "ghost-word," much the same thing must be said of OFr. *fae,* "fairy," which turns up in *NED* as the OFr. source of English *faie* in Gower's *Confessio Amantis,* II, 1019 (in Macaulay's edition, in rhyme with *delaie*). It is also in Körting's *Lateinisch-Romanisches Wörterb.,* edition of 1907, as OFr. from Lat. *Fata* with the added paranthesis "(Angeglichen an das Vb. *faer*)," and, as other forms *faie* (which is in Gower's *Ballades*), and "selten *fée*"; this implying that *fae* is the usual OFr. form. Now from the Lat. *fata* no form *fae* could come regularly as a popular word in Fr.; the regular form is *fée* (found in Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes, and also in the *Roman de Thebes,* though not often in any of these, so far as I see). But a well-authenticated OFr. *fae,* "fairy," I have yet to see. The *Angleichung* assumed in Körting is highly improbable; in the verb *faer,* p.p. (which is very common) *faé,* the *a* is unaccented and in *fae* it must bear the accent. No similar word has been adduced in OFr. ending in *-ae* with accented *a,* and the form seems inadmissible. In the *Zeitschr. für roman. Philologie,* XXIV, 563, in an article written by F. Ed. Schneegans, occurs the following: "J. d'Arras, der Verfasser des Roman de Mélusine, spricht von Geistergestalten, die den Alten (nos anciens) erschienen und von den Einen *luitons* von Andern 'les faes,' von Andern 'les bonnes dames' genannt wurden." In a footnote the writer refers to "Leroux de Lincy, Introduction au livre des légendes p. 171 ss." And there we do find about a page, said in a footnote (p. 173) to be taken from the "Roman de Mélusine, par J. d'Arras, MS du Roi, n. 7555, fol. 1 verso, fol. 2 recto." In this passage *faës* occurs at least twice. This made it necessary to refer to the only printed text available to me of the *Roman de Mélusine,* that of 1854, edited by Brunet, who reproduced, not entirely without changes, a printing of 1478. There are several slight differences between the passage in this edition and that quoted from the MS. The printed edition has in the two places concerned *faées,* and several other passages from it are cited by Godefroy under the verb *faer,* p.p. *faé.* I cannot now give the MS readings, but I think there can be no doubt that *faes,* as a word meaning "fairies," if it really occurs in that or any other MS, is an error due to confusion of *fée* with the participle *faé,* also spelled *feé,* whether the mistake is due to the writer of the MS itself or was found in its source. I might add that Godefroy, in the *Complément, s.v. fée,* has given one example with the spelling *fayees,* obviously the past participle feminine used substantively.

The OFr. ending *-ée* may appear as *-eie,* whether this is due to influences in England or whether it was taken over from continental French. This explanation was offered more than thirty years ago for English *fay,* Gower's *faie* (this is only a graphic variant of *feie,* which I do not remember meeting), by Behrens in his "Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England," in *Französische Studien,* V, 82–83. I think it is better than the one I suggested in Webster's *New International Dictionary.*

*IZZARD

For this word I may refer to my first article already mentioned under *Ache, Aitch,* and to my second one in the same [Harvard] *Studies and Notes,* Volume II.

*JEWEL

It is enough to refer to my *Etymological Notes* in Volume I of the same series, and to Meyer-Lübke, *Roman. Etym. Wörterb., s.v. jocus.*

*LAIR, LAYER, "A EWER"

The latter spelling is the oldest recorded in *NED* under *lair* in this sense, with dates 1491 and 1508. No etymology is there proposed. I think it most probable that it is from Fr. *l'aiguière,* the *l* being the definite article.

*LETTUCE

In Webster's *Dictionary,* edition of 1910, I have indicated this as an old plural, in OFr. *laitues,* but without giving reasons. It may be called a collective noun in English; we cannot say "a lettuce," using instead "a head of lettuce," We can say, "he grows beans, beets, cabbages, and lettuce," joining it naturally with plurals that are unmistakable. For the use of the plural in OFr., see Baist's edition of Chrétien's *Conte del Graal,* verses 6463–64: "Mes il n'i ot s'erbetes non Cerfuel letues et cresson"; Godefroy, VI, *s.v. porcelaine:* "Porcelaine et letues et froides coses, and in his *Complément,*" *s.v. arache:* "En chous, en cresson ou en betes, En arraches ou en letues"; compare also Levy, *Prov. Supplementwörterb.*, *s.v. lachuga* and *lachugueta*, for the forms *laitugas* and *laychuguetas;* and, finally, my colleague, Professor Wiener, in the *Zeitschr. für roman. Philol.*, XXXIV, 651, quotes a passage showing "was in dem Laden eines *regratier* . . . . im 13. Jahrh. verkauft wurde," and in this we may notice "poma immatura, et pira, et lactucas et nasturcia." If my view is right it would seem that the plural sense was soon lost in English, for our word retains the voiceless sibilant (written *ce*) which the final *s* of the OFr. plural had, not voicing it to the sound of *z* as is generally done with native English plurals when the singular ends with a vowel.

*PALMISTRY

See my explanation in the dictionary already so often mentioned.[1]

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[1] Walberg's edition of the Old French poem mentioned under *excise* above I have now been able to consult. In the line concerned it has *acreis*, as was to be expected. Here I may also add a note on the etymology of the English word *avenge*, derived in *NED* from OFr. *avengier* . . . . "f.*à* to +*vengier*," etc. In a peculiar sense this may seem true, but the etymology is nevertheless in my opinion wrong. The OFr. word *avengier* is known, but it does not appear to mean "avenge." It is defined in Godefroy as "parvenir, venir à bout," and Tobler's dictionary gives an intransitive and a transitive use. Meyer-Lübke derives it from an assumed LL. *advenicare*, and its meaning certainly does suggest a derivative of *advenire*. But the OFr. *avengier* looks like a compound of *vengier* (modern *venger*), and the English word was, I believe, due to just this misunderstanding. It should be added that Godefroy has also an *avengement*, and *NED* has an English *avengement* derived from this, the English word being established by several citations. Not so the OFr. one, for which one example only is cited, with *l'avengement*. But if the passage is looked up one finds that the MS reads *la vengement*, which the editor has corrected to *l'avengement*. It looks as if the scribe had written *la* with *vengeance* in his mind, and then had written *vengement* (which is called for by the rhyme), but had failed to correct his *la* to *le*.

FINITE VERB CATEGORIES

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I. ASPECT

According to the usual definition, a verb expresses an act or a state. Since, however, even *be*, that most static of verbs, expresses as much of action as is involved in existence, the distinction between act and state seems unsatisfactory, and in fact no such distinction is made in ordinary speech. We do, however, make a distinction between actions according to whether we conceive of them as transitional or functional, as involving or not involving a change from one state to another.[1] Thus, if we compare *remove* and *move* we see that the action is conceived of in the former as transitional, in the latter as functional.[2] A verb which expresses functional action is called a *durative;* a verb which expresses transitional action may be called a *trajective.* Formal means of expressing the distinction between durative and trajective exist in many languages; compare, e.g., *caleo* and *calesco* in Latin. But it is rare to find the distinction carried through rigorously and systematically.

It follows from the very nature of the durative that its action is conceived of absolutely, i.e., without term. On the other hand, the trajective is always and necessarily conceived of in terms of one of the states (i.e., durative actions) between which it serves as transition. The trajective may be called *afferent* if the durative serving as reference point follows it in time; *efferent,* if the durative precedes it in time. Thus, in the series *come, be present, go* and *go, be absent, come* the first member is afferent, the second durative, the third efferent. The trajective is thus afferent or efferent according to the durative to which it is referred. Similarly, in the series *stand, fall, lie* the trajective *fall* is efferent if referred to *stand,* afferent if referred to *lie.*

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[1] A functional action may indeed involve change, but such change is thought of as inherent in the state itself, not as affording passage from one state to another. Thus, *rotate* is functional, not transitional action.

[2] But *move* may be transitional, as when causative or when equivalent in meaning to *remove.*

Sometimes no simple durative occurs, with which the trajective may be associated; in practice, however, the classification can usually be made without difficulty. Thus, the trajective *scale* leads up to a durative *be on top* and hence is afferent. In English the series *afferent, durative, efferent* is often indicated analytically and with great precision, as in *start playing, play, stop playing.*

The durative with its two trajectives is to be looked upon as expressing a single action in three phases—initial, medial and final. This is clearly the case, e.g., in the series *be born, live, die* and *become, be, cease to be.* The same applies to series like *fall, lie, rise,* although here the method of initiation and conclusion may vary (as *be laid, lie, be raised*). We may, therefore, bring durative and trajective under one head by defining each as a verb which expresses an action in its aspect as a phase of a larger action. Our first aspect, then, is the aspect of *phase.*

Allied to the aspect of phase is the aspect of *sequence.* In the latter, two actions are conceived of as united by a relationship of cause and effect. The first member of the sequence is called a *causative,* the second a *resultative.* Causative and resultative may at the same time be afferent and durative, as *lay, lie;* but two alternative afferents may make a sequence, as *fell, fall,* where either member may be used as afferent of the durative *lie.* Similarly, either member of the sequence *expel, go* may serve as efferent of the durative *be present.* A causative may have more than one resultative. Thus, in the series (*the ball*) *is thrown, flies, hits* (*the fence*) the afferent *throw* is causative, the durative *fly* and the efferent *hit* are both resultative. In practice, however, one effect gains and holds our attention to the exclusion of the other effects; these latter are therefore ignored and omitted from the sequence.

Similar to the foregoing aspects is the aspect of *stage.* Here certain actions are unified by being represented as successive stages of the same journey, so to speak. Three such stages are to be distinguished: desire, attempt, and accomplishment. To these correspond the verb types known as *desiderative, conative* and *perlative,*[1] respectively. Compare the English series *be hungry* (i.e., *desire to eat*), *try to eat, eat* or the Latin *esurio, edo.* The desiderative easily passes into the conative, as in the Latin *parturio,* which properly means "desire to give birth" but which is ordinarily used in the sense "try to give birth, be in travail." Again, the same form may serve for conative and perlative, as often in Latin. The English method of marking stage is analytical, of course. The perlative stage may be marked by the use of *succeed* as an auxiliary.

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[1] The term "perlative" is of my own invention, let me hasten to add!

The next aspect to be considered is that of *structure,* an aspect by virtue of which two actions are related to each other as simple and composital forms, respectively, of the same activity. Thus, *knock* may be looked upon as a serial action in which each member of the series is to be identified with an isolated action *rap.* The action represented by *rap* may thus be called a *simplexive;* that represented by *knock,* a *complexive.* Again, *strike* is simplexive, *beat* complexive. Similar but not identical is the aspect of *number,* through which verbs are related as singular or *unicative* and plural or *frequentative* forms of the same actions. Compare Latin *rogo* and *rogito.* In English the frequentative may be marked by the auxiliary *keep,* as *keep knocking.*

Familiar enough is the aspect of *intensity,* exemplified in such a series as *doze, sleep, sleep fast.* Verbs of weak intensity are called *diminutives;* of mean intensity, *mediatives;* of strong intensity, *augmentatives.* Compare such Latin verbs as *capio, capesso.*

Finally, we come to the aspect of contrast or *polarity,* where two actions are conceived of as related by virtue of their very opposition. In its most common form, polarity is expressed through an auxiliary called the *negative.* If the auxiliary is absent, the verb is thought of as being in its positive aspect; otherwise, as being in its negative aspect. So expressed, however, the negative aspect lacks definition; in effect it is only a denial of one pole or extreme, and the exact nature of the opposition is left to inference. Thus, in the contrast *go* and *not go* the second member may be equivalent to *stay* or to *come.* In practice, it is true, the context often supplies the needed information; often, too, one prefers to leave the opposition undefined. In many cases, however, a sharply defined opposition is desirable, whence such contrasts as *like* and *dislike* (where the negative aspect is marked by a prefix) or as *love* and *hate, feast* and *fast, fill* and *empty, come* and *go, rise* and *fall, rise* and *set* (where no formal means are used to indicate the polarity).

II. MODE

In the discussion above, we have classified verbs in terms of the aspects through which they may be brought together to form more comprehensive units of action. We come now to a consideration of the verb, not as a member of an action group but as an individual action. So considered, a given verb takes form in terms of certain media through which alone our minds seem able to function. The media in question are those of mode, space, and time. Let us begin with mode.

The human mind is so constituted that it responds to stimuli in certain definite ways. For grammatical purposes, its ways of response in respect of a verb are called *modes*, and a verb is said to be in a certain mode if its action is expressed in terms of that mode. Thus, in the statement *I will go* the action is expressed in terms of the mode (i.e., the manner of mental response) which we call volition. The verb here then may be spoken of as being in the volitive mode. Modal possibilities are obviously numerous. They may be grouped, however, under a few reasonably well-defined heads.

Perhaps the most elementary mental reaction is that of *feeling*, a reaction which gives us such sensations as pleasure or pain, hope or fear, desire or repugnance. The mode of feeling may be called the *animative*. An action expressed in terms of feeling, then, may be said to be in the animative mode. Such expression may be direct, i.e., through the verb form itself, as in *O that he came, lest he come.* Or the feeling may find expression through a modal auxiliary, as in *may he come.* Or the verb expressing the action may be made dependent on a verb expressing the feeling (i.e., the modal action), as in *I hope he comes, I want him to come, he would like to come.* The distinction between verbs of feeling, so used, and modal auxiliaries is, of course, artificial enough. The expression of an action in terms of wish or desire is often given a special mode, the *optative,* doubtless because wish is so important and so sharply defined. Optative forms, however, are often used for other feelings as well, and in any case desire and repugnance can only with violence be separated from their kindred feelings hope and fear, pleasure and pain.

Another type of mental reaction is that of *judgment*—in modal terms, the *judicative.* Judgments may be *moral* or *rational*, i.e., of convention or of fact. Before considering them, however, it will be convenient to discuss a mental reaction which serves as link between feeling and judgment, viz., the reaction of *opinion*, or, put in modal terms, the *putative*. An opinion grows out of a mixture of unspecified feeling and judgment, but this basis is implicit, not explicit. In intensity, the opinion may range all the way from fancy or conjecture to belief. An action is usually expressed in putative terms by being subordinated to a putative verb, as in *I think he can come, he was believed to be ill*. A putative is usually found superimposed upon an animative or judicative, which it serves to make more or less doubtful (*doubt* itself indeed is a putative verb).

We now come to moral judgments, or judgments of convention. The mode corresponding may be named the *morative*. A moral judgment may be one of duty, propriety, or justice, according to whether the action is put in terms of fidelity, harmony, or legality. Thus, in *he should come* (i.e., *he ought to come*) we have a morative of fidelity; in *it is fitting that he come*, a morative of harmony; in *it is right that he come*, a morative of legality.

As to rational judgments, or judgments of fact, these may be of *possibility*, *probability*, or *certainty;* again, they may be *ideal* or *real*. Thus, in *he can come, he is able to come* the action is put in terms of ideal possibility; in *he may come, he may have come*, of real possibility; in *he should come*, of ideal probability; in *he is likely to come*, of real probability; in *he would come*, of ideal certainty; in *he will come*, of real certainty or actuality. The last gives us the *indicative* mode. Actions put in terms of possibility, whether ideal or real, are said to be in the *potential* mode. Otherwise, no special terminology exists.

In addition to feeling and judgment, we may have a type of mental reaction called *volition;* the mode corresponding has been called the *volitive*. The weakest form of volition is that which we find in expressions of indifference, willingness, or permission. Thus, *he may come* means "I have no objection to his coming" or "I am willing for him to come" or "he has my permission to come." Somewhat stronger is promise or intention, as in *I will come* in the sense, "I promise to come" or "I intend to come" or "I have made up my mind to come." Stronger still is determination, as in *I will come* in the sense, "I am determined to come" or *he shall come* in the sense, "I am determined that he come." Strongest of all is command, a form of volition so important and so sharply defined that it may have a mode of its own, the *imperative,* as in *come!* The expression of a command, however, need not involve the use of a separate mode; thus, in Latin the so-called volitive subjunctive may be used for imperative purposes; in English, the auxiliary *will* may be resorted to (the so-called polite form). Another form of volition is the suggestion or proposal, as in *let us go;* it is frequently expressed with circumlocution, as in *why don't you come with me?* or *I suggest that you come with me.*

Finally, we may have composite mental reactions. We have already noted this in the case of the putative. Other combinations are also possible. Thus, in *if only he were here* or *would that he were here* the expression of the wish is combined with the expression of a judgment of fact. In such cases, it often happens that one of the reactions is left out altogether. Thus, in *he has come* the judgment may be accompanied by a feeling of regret, surprise or pleasure, but none of these finds expression in the form of the statement; here, of course, in speech the tone of voice may serve to remedy the deficiency, while in writing, an additional statement like *the man said regretfully* may be used for the same purpose. Often, too, feelings are given expression through exclamatory words or phrases, and still other devices may be used.

III. VOICE

The second medium in terms of which the action of the verb must be expressed is that of space. For such expression the *source* and the *goal* of the action are used as loci. The position of these two points known, both the path which the action takes and the direction of movement can be determined with some precision. Thus, in *A killed B* the action begins at *A* and stops at *B;* it may be represented graphically by a line drawn from *A* to *B*. If only one locus is furnished (as often happens), the determination of the spatial position of the action must be in terms of this locus only, and hence is less precise.

The action of the finite verb is usually represented as attached either to its source or to its goal. The locus which serves as point of attachment is called the *subject* of the verb; the other locus, the *object*.

The terminology is hardly felicitous, but long usage justifies us in retaining it. Let us first take up actions attached to their source. A verb so attached is said to be in the *active* voice. The attachment may be in one of four ways. In the first place, it may be absolute, i.e., unaccompanied by any information as to the goal of the action. This is the case, e.g., in the statement *A killed*, i.e., *A was a killer*. A verb attached to a locus in this absolute fashion is said to be *intransitive*. Secondly, the goal likewise may be given, but identified with the source as a whole, as in *A killed himself*. In this case, the verb is said to be *reflexive*. Thirdly, the goal may be identified with the source by parts, as in *A and B killed each other*. Here the verb is called a *reciprocal*. Finally, the goal may be represented as external, i.e., separate from the source, as in *A killed B*, where the verb is said to be *transitive*.

On the other hand, actions may be attached to their goal, in which case the verb is spoken of as being in the *passive* voice. Here again one would expect the four subdivisions intransitive, reflexive, reciprocal, and transitive, as in *A was killed*, *A was killed by himself*, *A and B were killed by each other* and *A was killed by B* respectively. And, in fact, this terminology is used in such cases as *A was killed*, where the verb is said to be intransitive. In the other cases, however, the information about the source is given by means of a prepositional phrase; in other words, the free locus does not stand in direct relation to the verb as object, but is tacked on indirectly. Hence the true relationships find no expression in the orthodox terminology.

Some verbs take two objects, known as the objects of the person and of the thing, as in *A gave B the hat*. Here the object of the person is the true goal, of course; the object of the thing serves only to make more precise the nature of the action—in this case hat-giving. Similarly, in *A called B a liar* the action is a special kind of denunciation, viz., liar-calling. Hence in the passive construction we find the object of the person becoming the subject, as in *B was given the hat*, *B was called a liar*. One may also say *the hat was given B*, however; the prevalence of this construction is due rather to analogy than to logic.

Some verbs have only one voice. This may be active, as in *live*, or passive as in *be born* or *die*. The peculiarity arises from the fact that some actions can be conceived of only in attachment to source or goal as the case may be. Verbs of this character may be active in form though passive in meaning, as *seem, fall,* or the reverse, as the Latin *proficiscor.* The latter is called a *deponent;* perhaps the same word may be applied to *die,* etc.

IV. TENSE

The third medium in terms of which the action of the verb must be expressed is that of time. Here we must first consider the temporal *point of view* from which the action is regarded. We may take our stand in time past, time being, or time to come. To indicate these three possible points of view I have invented the adjectives *hesternal, hodiernal* and *crastinal.* We may begin with the simplest of the three possibilities, the hodiernal point of view.

Using our station in the time stream as a reference point, we must express the action of the verb in terms of its temporal position. There are seven possibilities here. First of all, we may place the action in time past; this gives the *preterit* tense, as in *he sang.* The preterit tells us nothing about later conditions; it simply places in time past the action under consideration. Secondly, we may place the action *exclusively* in time past; this gives the *perfect* tense, as in *he has sung.* The perfect not only places the action in time past but also excludes it from time being. It, therefore, gives us two pieces of information, viz., a positive: the action took place in time past; and a negative: the action is not taking place now. Thirdly, we may place the action in both time past and time being, as in *he has sung for an hour already* (implying *he is singing still*); this gives what may be called the *perducent* tense. The perducent is expressed by the perfect in English, by the present in Latin, etc. Of the two parts of its action, that part lying in time past is emphasized by the English form; that part lying in time being, by the Continental form. Fourthly, we may place the action in time being, without offering further information; this gives the *present* tense, as in *he sings.* Fifthly, we may place the action both in time being and in time to come, as in *he is to sing* (or *he will sing*) *an hour longer* (implying *he is now singing*); this gives what may be called the *prolate* tense, the counterpart of the perducent. Sixthly, we may place the action *exclusively* in time to come, as in *he has not yet sung* (implying *he will sing*); this gives what may be called the *inexordinate* tense, the counterpart of the perfect. Finally, we may place the action in time to come without further indication; this gives the *future* tense, as in *he will sing.*

If now we shift to the hesternal point of view, we get a new set of tenses parallel to the hodiernal. They may be exemplified as follows: hesternal preterit, *he had sung;* perfect, *he had sung already* (implying *he was not singing then*); perducent, *he had been singing long already* (implying *he was still singing*); present, *he sang;* prolate, *he would sing an hour longer* (implying *he was then singing*); inexordinate, *he had not yet sung* (implying *he would sing*); future, *he would sing.* Similarly, from the crastinal point of view we have the following tenses: crastinal preterit, *he will have sung;* perfect, *he will have sung already* (or some such form); perducent, *he will have been singing long already;* present, *he will sing;* prolate, *he will keep singing* (or *he will not stop singing*) *an hour hence;* inexordinate, *he will not yet have sung;* future, *he will have* (*his song*) *to sing.* It will be observed that the hesternal present is identical with the hodiernal preterit, the crastinal present with the hodiernal future. The total number of tenses, then, is nineteen.

Besides point of view and position, the matter of temporal *extension* has its effect on the form of the verb. Such extension may be unlimited or limited; the latter again may be full or reduced. Unlimited extension gives a *universal,* as in *the sun rises and sets,* or a *habitual,* frequently expressed in English through the auxiliary *would.* In limited extension, on the other hand, one's view is confined to an empirical occasion, as in *the sun is rising.* The difference between full and reduced limited extension is one of stress; I may illustrate by the sentence, *As I write the birds are singing in the trees.* Here *write* has reduced, *are singing* has full limited extension. The use of periphrastic forms (incorrectly called progressive) to indicate full limited extension is characteristic of English.

NOTES ON THE FOUNDERS OF PRESCRIPTIVE ENGLISH GRAMMAR

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Complete treatises of English grammar, undertaking to determine proper constructions and usage and thus to fashion public taste, were creations of the later eighteenth century. The first of the prescriptive grammarians whose work contributed greatly to the formation of conventional standards was Robert Lowth, successively Bishop of St. David's, Oxford, and London, and a distinguished classical and oriental scholar. His *Short Introduction to English Grammar* first appeared in 1762. In 1761, Joseph Priestley, the great scientist, published his *Rudiments of English Grammar*, and in 1768 reissued it with the addition of a very considerable body of "Notes and Observations for the Use of Those Who have made some Proficiency in the Language"; it was particularly in these "Notes and Observations" that he discussed the propriety of forms and constructions about which there might be question. Much more ambitious in scope than Lowth's and Priestley's grammars was George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, which appeared in two large volumes in 1776. It was the first comprehensive presentation of the principles underlying effective writing in English, and the ancestor of the line of formal "rhetorics" which preceded the textbooks in "practical composition" of our own day. With the works of these three British authorities may be coupled that of the first American grammarian of any originality whose statements had wide currency—Noah Webster. His *Plain and Comprehensive Grammar*, first published at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1784, was Part II of his *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, Part I of which was his famous speller.[1] The following pages present some illustrations of the character of the discussions by these authorities on constructions about the propriety of which there was difference of opinion among them.

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[1] The British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books* with its *Supplement* lists eleven editions of Lowth's *Short Introduction* before 1790. My references are to the "second edition, corrected," London, 1763. A "new edition, corrected" of Priestley's *Rudiments* containing the "Notes and Observations" was issued in London, 1769, and

Means AS SINGULAR

Lowth was disturbed by the anomaly of *means*, a plural form, qualified by singular *a* or *this* or *that*. Concerning a quotation (p. 19, n. 4) "a means of doing good," he asked, "Ought it not to be *a mean?*" Again in a note (p. 129, n. 1) to his statement that some of the pronominal adjectives, unlike other adjectives, must agree in number with their substantives, he returned to the subject. He cited *this means*, *that means* from the Bible and Atterbury's *Sermons* with the query: "Ought it not to be, by *these means*, by *those means?* or by *this mean*, by *that mean*, in the singular number? as it is used by Hooker, Sidney, Shakespear, &c."[1] Priestley (p. 64) opposed Lowth's effort to displace *means* by *mean* in the singular: "Custom has so formed our ears, that they do not easily admit this form of the word, notwithstanding it is more agreeable to the general analogy of the language." He also cited *pains* and *news* as apparent plurals which might be construed as singulars. Campbell (I, 401, note), though

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was frequently reprinted. My references are to this edition. The Museum *Catalogue* lists editions of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* only as dated 1776, 1808, 1816, and abridged, 1823. The wide influence of this work is evidenced, however, by the general adoption of the doctrine of "Good Use" as first defined in it. I have used the first edition, London and Edinburgh, 1776. So far as I have observed, the later editions of Lowth, Priestley, and Campbell contained little essential modification of earlier statements. The situation is altogether different, however, in the case of Webster's *Plain and Comprehensive Grammar.* The first edition appears to be largely a colorless following of Lowth; but, apparently under the influence of Priestley, Webster became much more independent, and this independence appears in the editions which had widest circulation. To judge from a preface dated 1787 of an undated fourth Connecticut edition, this change in attitude had come about by 1787. In addition to the four Hartford editions, before the end of the century at least two were printed in Philadelphia (1787, 1789), and five in Boston between 1790 and 1797. My references are to the first Boston edition, 1790.

For the opportunity to examine these texts, I am gratefully indebted to the Library of Harvard University and to the Library of Congress.

[1] In this same note Lowth objected to the collectivizing singular demonstrative with a plural substantive as used in certain idioms, and quoted with disapproval the following:

> "'We have strict statutes, and most biting laws,
> Which for *this* nineteen *years* we have let sleep.'
> Shakespear, Meas. for Meas.
> 'I have not wept *this* forty *years.*' Dryden."

somewhat hesitantly, agreed with Priestley: he declared that although the existence of the singular *mean* "must inevitably give to the above phrases by *this means*, it is *a means*, etc., an appearance of solecism in the judgment of those who are accustomed to attend to the rules of syntax," yet "no person of taste, I presume, will venture so far to violate the present usage, and consequently to shock the ears of the generality of readers, as to say, 'By this mean,' or 'By that mean.'" Webster (p. 36, note) stated that "*Means* is used in both numbers, and sometimes *pains*"; and he gave as an example: "'*This is a* means.' General Practice, and almost all good writers."

It is FOLLOWED BY A PLURAL SUBSTANTIVE

Lowth took exception also to *it is* followed by a plural substantive. In his discussion of agreement in number (p. 129, n. 1), he stated, "So the Pronoun must agree with its Noun," and quoted for correction passages in which a singular pronoun had been made to refer to a plural substantive. He continued: "And the phrase which occurs in the following examples, though pretty common and authorized by custom, yet seems to be somewhat defective in the same way." The phrase to which he objected was *'tis these, 'tis they, 'tis two or three*, quoted from Pope, Prior, and Shakespeare. Priestley, too, was at least dubious concerning this construction. He stated (pp. 190–91): "*It is*, and *it was* are often, after the manner of the French, used in a plural construction, and by some of our best writers." After giving a number of examples, he continued:

> This construction seems almost unavoidable in answer to a question asked in the same form. Who was it that caught the fish? *It was we.*[1] This licence in the construction of *it is* (if the critical reader will think proper to admit of it at all) has, however, been certainly abused in the following sentence, which is thereby made a very aukward one. *It is* wonderful, the very few trifling accidents which happen not once, perhaps, in several years. *Observations on the Turks*, vol. 2, p. 54.[2]

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[1] For the sake of consistency, I have had to reverse Priestley's practice with regard to italics and normal type in illustrative examples. He used italics for the body of the example, and normal type for the particularly significant element.

[2] Though dubious as to *it is they*, etc., Priestley gave at least qualified approval to a somewhat similar construction that was never in anything like general use and is not admitted at all today. He stated (p. 191): "When the particle *there* is prefixed to a verb singular, a plural nominative may follow without a very sensible impropriety. *There* necessarily *follows* from thence *these* plain and unquestionable *consequences*."

Campbell (I, 496–502) discussed somewhat elaborately not only *it is* followed by the logical subject in the plural, but also *it* as the formal subject referring to persons as well as to things, and referring to the first person as well as to the second and the third. He approved all three. Webster also (p. 91) defended *it is these, it is they:* "I believe these phrases may be defended on philosophical principles; *these* and *they* collectively forming an agent or subject represented by *it.* At any rate, the idiom is so well established, and the other construction is so awkward, that an English ear cannot consent to the correction—they are they."

THE ACCUSATIVE CASE FORM AFTER *to be*

Lowth cited (p. 115, n. 5) for reprobation and correction a number of instances of personal forms of *to be* followed by the accusative case, drawing his examples from the Bible, Prior, the *Spectator,* Shakespeare, and Swift. Priestley vigorously defended this usage (p. 104): "All our grammarians say, that the nominative cases of pronouns ought to follow the verb substantive as well as precede it; yet many familiar forms of speech, and the example of some of our best writers, would lead us to make a contrary rule; or, at least, would leave us at liberty to adopt which we liked best." After supporting this statement by quoting a number of examples, including some of those objected to by Lowth, he continued: "When the word *if* begins a sentence, it seems pretty clear, that no person, whose attention to artificial rules did not put a sensible restraint upon his language, would ever use the nominative case after the verb *to be.* Who would not say, If it be *me,* rather than If it be *I?*"[1] Campbell (I, 438, note) briefly stigmatized "these vulgar but unauthorized idioms, *It is me, it is him,* from the *C'est moi, c'est lui* of the French." On this point—either because of doubt as to the propriety of this construction, or because of carelessness in revision from an earlier edition—Webster's attitude appeared somewhat inconsistent with itself. In a remark to Rule 6 (p. 44) he stated: "The verb *to be* has a nominative after it, as well as before it; as, '*it was I*'; '*ye are they* who justify yourselves.' For this reason, this passage seems to be ungrammatical, 'whom do men say that I am.' Matth. xvi. 13. It ought to be *who*, governed of *am*." But in his body of notes and comments this condemnation was greatly modified (p. 88): "It is very common to hear these phrases, *it is me, it was him.* These appear not strictly grammatical, but have such a prevalence in English and in other languages derived from the same source, it inclines me to think, that there may be reasons for them, which are not now understood. . . . . In some instances, these cannot well be avoided. See *Priestley* on Pronouns."[1]

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[1] Priestley's attitude appears to be much like that of many today who defend the construction but shun it in writing. I do not recall his thus using any accusative form in the *Rudiments;* and in his illustration (p. 190) of a plural after *it was,* he used the nominative, "it was we." In his discussion of the case form of pronouns, Priestley's ignorance of historical grammar led him into a curious error (p. 103): "In one familiar phrase, the pronoun *me* seems to be used in the nominative, and, as it were, in the third person too; but the pronoun and the verb make but one word. *Methinks* already I your tears survey. Pope."

Who AS ACCUSATIVE

The use of *who* instead of *whom*, occurring usually when the pronoun precedes the verb or preposition of which it is the object, was of course reprehended by Lowth. In a footnote (p. 104, n. 9), he cited eight instances of *who* as object of a verb—in seven of these instances *who* preceded the verb—and declared, "In all these places it ought to be *whom*." Again (p. 140, n. 1) he cited several examples of *who* as the object of a following preposition, with the statement that in every case "it ought to be *whom*." In this matter, as in many others, Priestley had more regard for the observed facts of usage than for the rules of grammar. He stated (pp. 107–8):

> When the pronoun precedes the verb or the participle[2] by which its case is determined, it is very common, especially in conversation, to use the nominative case where the rules of grammar require the oblique. As, *Who* is this *for?* *Who* should I *meet* the other day but my old friend. *Spectator* No. 32. This form of speaking is so familiar, that I question whether grammarians should not admit it as an exception to the general rule. Dr. Lowth says, that grammar requires us to say, *Whom* do you think me to be. But in conversation we always hear, *Who* do you think me to be.

Webster (p. 88) also justified this usage: "The relative *who*, in this, and similar phrases, *who do you speak to?* must perhaps be admitted as an anomaly. It is the invariable practice to use *who*, except among people who are fettered by grammatical rules. In spite of rules, *who is she married to?* is more agreeable than *whom* is she married to?"[1]

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[1] The first edition (Hartford, 1784) has only the condemnation of this construction; both the condemnation and the somwhat qualified approval occur in the first and the third Boston editions and in the third and fourth Connecticut editions—the only editions I have examined except the first.

[2] "Participle" is obviously a misprint for "particle."

Whose AS GENITIVE OF *which*

Whose as the genitive case of the neuter *which* was unacceptable to Lowth (p. 37, n. 6): "*Whose* is by some Writers made the Possessive Case of *which*, and applied to things as well as persons; I think, improperly." Priestley also expressed doubt concerning this usage (p. 99): "The word *whose* begins likewise to be restricted to persons, but it is not done so generally but that good writers, and even in prose, use it when speaking of things. I do not think, however, that the construction is generally pleasing." Campbell defended this use on the score of "vivacity" (II, 392):

> The possessive of *who* is properly *whose;* the pronoun *which* originally indeclinable had no possessive. This want was supplied in the common periphrastic manner, by the help of the preposition and the article. But as this could not fail to enfeeble the expression, when so much time was given to mere conjunctives, all our best authors, both in prose and in verse, have come now regularly to adopt in such cases the possessive of *who;* and thus have substituted one syllable in the room of three. . . . . Some grammarians remonstrate. But it ought to be remembered, that use well established must give law to grammar, and not grammar to use. Nor is this acceptation of the word *whose* of recent introduction into the language. It occurs even in Shakespeare, and almost uniformly in authors of any character since his time.

Webster's brief statement (p. 15, note) does not even suggest that there had been any question about the matter: "*Who* and *whom* are used only to express persons. *Which*, *whose* and *that* refer to things and persons."

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[1] Different stages of Webster's emancipation from strict adherence to grammatical rules appear strikingly in his modifications of statement on this construction. In the first edition (Rule 11, remark 2, pp. 78–79), after objecting to the separation of a pronoun from the preposition of which it is the object, he declared: "But this is much more pardonable than another error that has crept into general use; which is to make prepositions govern a nominative case; thus, *Who* did you give it *to?* . . . . *who* is she married *to?* These are questions in every person's mouth and yet they will be shocked to hear the preposition pronounced where it ought to stand; thus, *To who* did you give it? . . . . *to who* is she married? . . . . Yet these last are as proper as the first, though not so familiar to the ear." In the undated fourth Connecticut edition (preface dated 1787) this matter remained essentially unchanged, with the important exception of the last sentence, for which was substituted (p. 41): "And yet it is probable that general practice will establish these corruptions." This entire remark is omitted from the first and third Boston editions (1790, 1794) and from the third Connecticut edition (1792), which have only the brief statement approving the construction, as given above in the text.

ADJECTIVE USED AS ADVERB

The apparently widespread use of a number of adjectival forms in adverbial function was condemned by Lowth (p. 136, n. 6): "Adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs; improperly, and not agreeably to the Genius of the English Language. As 'indifferent honest, excellent well': Shakespear, Hamlet. 'extreme elaborate': Dryden, Essay on Dram. Poet." After citing other instances from Clarendon, the psalms, Swift, Addison, and Pope, he continued: "So *exceeding,* for *exceedingly,* however improper, occurs frequently in the Vulgar Translation of the Bible, and has obtained in common discourse." Priestley (pp. 80–81) was not so inclusive or unsparing in his condemnation: "Adjectives are often put for adverbs, but the practice is hardly to be approved, except in cases where long custom has made the examples quite easy; as *exceeding* for *exceedingly, near* for *nearly.*" *Miserable poor, extreme jealous* from Hume's *Essays* he considered "not so easy." But "the word *exceeding* makes a worse adjective than it does an adverb"; he would accordingly correct Shenstone's *exceeding honesty* to *exceeding great honesty.* Campbell (I, 375, 379) considered only the use of *scarce* and *exceeding* as adverbs, both of which he rejected in favor of forms in *-ly.*

Webster's attitude can be represented only through somewhat full quotation. His general statement (Rule 4, remark 7, p. 41) was: "One adjective often qualifies another; as *very cold, full sweet, most excellent.* In these expressions, the last adjective refers to, and qualifies the noun employed in the sentence; and the first adjective qualifies the last, or shows the *degree* of the *quality* predicated of the thing. . . . ." This position he maintained in a characteristically bellicose footnote:

> *Very* is merely the French *vrai,* true; anciently written in English *viray.* The rule laid down is one of the best established in the language; and had not grammarians been blinded by a veneration for the learned languages, the rule would not have passed to this day undiscovered. Some eminent critics have condemned such combinations, as *extreme cold, wondrous wise;* but these expressions are in exact conformity to the English idiom. To prove this we need only to advert to this fact, most of such phrases which have gained an undisputed establishment, are of Saxon origin. The phrases *extremely cold, severely virtuous,* are good English; and indeed we should all pronounce *severe virtuous* bad English. But whoever heard of *verily cold, mostly excellent?* Perhaps it will be said, that *very, most, full,* &c. in such phrases are

> used adverbially. This is a pitiful substitute for truth. The truth is, the Saxon idiom was to use *one adjective* to *qualify another;* and this idiom stands its ground in the Saxon branch of the language; but the Latin idiom, that an *adjective* is *qualified* by an *adverb,* has been introduced with the derivatives from the Roman tongue. Both idioms are good in English; both are derived from the highest antiquity, and should stand on the immoveable basis of *general undisputed practice,* the foundation of all languages on earth.[1]

Webster's statement in the following section (remark 8, p. 42) that "Adjectives sometimes qualify verbs and adverbs" is similarly defended.[2]

THE SUPERLATIVE WITH ONLY TWO OBJECTS

Priestley stated (p. 78): "It is very common to see the superlative used for the comparative degree, when only two persons or things are spoken of. It began to be the interest of their neighbors to oppose the *strongest and most enterprising of the two.* Bolingbroke on History. This is a very pardonable oversight." Campbell, in discussing the use of exclusive *than* with the comparative and inclusive *of* with the superlative, stated (I, 436) that the only case where *of* is proper with the comparative is

> when the words following the preposition comprehend both sides of the comparison, as "He is the taller man of the two." In these words *the two* are included both he and the person to whom he is compared. . . . . In such cases, and only in such, the comparative is construed precisely as the superlative: nay, both degrees are in such cases used indiscriminately. We say rightly, either "This is the weaker of the two," or—"the weakest of the two." If, however, we may form a judgment from the most general principles of analogy, the former is preferable, because there are only two things compared.

Webster stated briefly (p. 87): "We often use the superlative for the comparative, *the strongest of the two.* This is not so correct as *stronger.*"[3]

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[1] A curious inconsistency with the statement above about *very* appears under Rule 16, p. 54: "An adverb must always stand near the word which it is designed to affect or modify.

"1. It is placed before an adjective; as

Adv.	Adj.
very	wise."

[2] The explanation of Webster's peculiar attitude is probably his ignorance of the fact that a number of adverbs which have descended from Old English forms, and others modeled after them, lack the characteristic adverbial ending *-ly* and are thus similar in form to adjectives; accordingly he concluded that they were adjectives.

[3] I have noted two instances of Webster's own use of the superlative for two objects. In discussing *two handsful* and *two handfuls* (pp. 86–87) he declared the latter

THE GENITIVE WITH THE GERUND

The idiom of the gerund limited by a noun or pronoun in the genitive case was especially offensive to Lowth. He declared (pp. 121–23):

> The Participle with a Preposition before it, and still retaining its Government, answers to what is called in Latin the Gerund: as "Happiness is to be attained, by avoiding evil, and by doing good. . . . ." The Participle, with an Article before it, and the Preposition *of* after it, becomes a substantive, expressing the action itself which the verb signifies: as, "These are the Rules of Grammar, by *the observing of* which you may avoid mistakes."

In a footnote he explained:

> This Rule arises from the nature and idiom of our Language, and from as plain a principle as any on which it is founded: namely, that a word which has the Article before it, and the Possessive Preposition *of* after it, must be a Noun; and if a Noun, it ought to follow the Construction of a Noun, and not have the Regimen of a Verb. It is the Participial Termination of this sort of words that is apt to deceive us, and make us treat them as if they were of an amphibious species, partly nouns, and partly verbs. I believe there are hardly any of our Writers, who have not fallen into this inaccuracy.

On the basis of this classification, the genitive with the gerund was an anomaly to be weeded out of use (p. 105, n. 1):

> Phrases like the following, though very common, are improper: "Much depends upon the *Rule's being observed;* and error will be the consequence of *its being neglected.*" For here is a Noun, and a Pronoun representing it, each in the Possessive Case, that is, under Government of another Noun, but without other Noun to govern it; for *being observed,* and *being neglected,* are not Nouns: nor can you supply the place of the Possessive Case by the Preposition *of* before the Noun or Pronoun.[1]

Priestley approved of this construction (pp. 69–70):

> When an entire clause of a sentence, beginning with a participle of the present tense, is used as one name, or to express one idea, or circumstance, the noun on which it depends may be put in the genitive case. Thus instead of saying, What is the meaning of this *lady* holding up her train . . . . we

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to be "the most correct expression"; and in considering the gerund with the genitive and with the common case form (remark 4, p. 52), he pronounced the former "the most correct."

[1] This same note continued: "Note also, that adjectives are incapable of the Possessive Case: the following Phrase, for example, would be improper: 'It was happy for the state, that Fabius continued in the command with Minucius: the *former's* phlegm was a check upon the *latter's* vivacity.'"

> may say, What is the meaning of this *lady's* holding up her train. So we may either say, I remember *it being* reckoned a great exploit; or perhaps more elegantly, I remember *its being* reckoned, &c.

Campbell accepted the idiom, but only after showing the fallacy of the reasoning by which Lowth had condemned it. He undertook to show (I, 507–11) that Lowth must have approved "Much depends upon *their observing* of the rule, and error will be the consequence of *their neglecting* of it." Then he showed that Lowth's objection—"you cannot supply the place of the possessive case by the preposition *of* before the noun or pronoun"—would hold against this as well: "Much depends upon *the observing of them* of the rule, and error will be the consequence *of the neglecting of them* of it." That is, if Lowth's

> argument then prove anything, it proves too much, and consequently can be no criterion. The only other objection mentioned is, that "*being observed* and *being neglected*, are not nouns." It is acknowledged that in the common acceptation of the word, they are not nouns, but passive participles; neither is the active participle commonly a noun, neither is the infinitive of the verb active or passive, a noun. Yet the genius of the tongue permits that all these may be construed as nouns in certain occurrences.

After having thus demolished Lowth's objections, he concluded that "upon the whole, as the idiom in question is analogical, supported by good use, and sometimes very expedient, it ought not to be entirely repudiated."

On this point Webster first enunciated what has come to be the conventional position (Rule 14, remark 4, p. 52): "The participles in *ing* often have the nature both of *nouns* and *verbs.* They are preceded by an article, a noun, or pronoun possessive, and yet govern the objective case. These may be called *participial nouns.* They are much used in the language, and their place cannot always be well supplied by a different construction." After giving several examples, of which "I heard of his seeing him" is representative, he continued:

> Sometimes two participles have the nature of a noun; as "I heard of his *being noticed.*" "His *being praised* excited envy." Some writers omit the sign of the possessive; "we seldom hear of a man despising wealth." But this seems not so correct; for the object of the verb is not so much the *man,* as his *contempt* of wealth. . . . . In this phrase, "*a man despising* wealth"; *despising* is a proper participle. In this, "*a man's despising* wealth," it is a noun, still governing *wealth.* The latter is the *participial noun,* and the most correct phrase.

The number of illustrations of matters thus debated might of course be very greatly increased; those that have been given are merely representative of points about which there was greatest divergence of opinion. Though, in themselves, these illustrations may be of only slight consequence, they have real significance as representing the attitudes of the fathers of critical and prescriptive English grammar. The works of these grammarians are of decided importance on more than one account. They record many interesting examples of constructions and usages which were employed by eighteenth-century writers of standing, but which were felt to be open to question particularly on the score of irregularity, nonconformity to the "analogy" or "genius" of the language; and their pronouncements provide an index to the most approved taste of the day. In all likelihood, too, they have left a considerable impress upon the language since their day. The direct weight of their authority was very great; their indirect influence through the incorporation of their material into other grammars has been immensely greater. For instance, Lindley Murray's *Grammar of the English Language* (first edition York, 1795) was largely an eclectic compilation from them—especially from Lowth, Priestley, and Campbell—and Murray's *Grammar* was not only the almost unquestioned authority in England and America during the first half of the last century but the progenitor as well of most of the formal grammars which were the basis of English instruction until recently and which have not wholly disappeared today. These earlier grammarians and their immediate descendants were largely instrumental in setting up particular "rules"—some of them based on the rules of Latin grammar or on the principles of logic or on merely arbitrary dicta—which have commanded wide acceptance and have helped to mold the received practice even of the present day. They have also firmly established in English among the great body of teachers and taught the notion of the validity of abstracted, general standards of "correctness." On such various counts as these, then, particularly on the score of influence upon the written language as contrasted with colloquial speech, the late eighteenth-century English grammarians merit greater attention than they have hitherto received.

THE "*GOING-TO*" FUTURE

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Neglect of the *going-to* future by our hundred and one school-text grammars and by even serious students of the English language has no effect whatever upon the widespread use of the construction. It is, however, significant of the heavy weight which tradition lays upon the making of our grammatical record. Under tyranny of the terminal inflection conception of language relations, the grammatical mind contends against accepting the modern English practice of indicating the time and manner of action by pre-fixial composition. Into the description of our verbal machinery is admitted as auxiliary verbs a narrowly restricted group of function words—the preterite-present verbs together with *be, have, do,* and sometimes *let*—while such vigorous auxiliaries as *become, get, used,* and *go* receive slight attention as relation words.[1] The *going-to* future deserves fuller recognition in our grammatical record than it has received and a more extended investigation into its use, meaning, and origin than has been given it.

I. USE

Though not so frequently used, the *going-to* future is as familiar to the ear as the *shall-will* future: it is, as Oliphant says,[2] "a phrase now always in our mouths." A reading of almost any modern novel or drama will give evidence of the strong present disposition toward this future form. We count twenty-six examples of the construction in Gilbert Cannan's *Young Earnest;* thirty-three in Bennett's *Clayhanger;* thirty-one in Freeman Tilden's translation of Becque's

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[1] Consideration of whether the *going-to* future is a genuine tense or merely a "verbal phrase" is an inviting subject, especially in its relation to the grammatical tradition, but it must be reserved for a future publication.

[2] *The New English,* p. 322.

The Vultures; sixty-five in Butler's *The Way of All Flesh;* forty-eight in Wells's *Joan and Peter;* thirty in Max Beerbohm's *Zuleika Dobson.*

The construction is quite naturally to be met more frequently in narrative writing than in other forms of discourse, and here more frequently in quoted conversation than in the narrative text, though the *going-to* future is well represented in the writing of the novelist in his proper person. The future generally is not called into use in writing which concerns itself with the expression of ideas and their relations. This form of expression, the impersonal essay for example, employs generally the fact tenses—present, past, and perfect—which do not show the writer's attitude toward the fact or the act. The future, on the contrary, is primarily a tense of emotional expression, in which the user's intention or attitude toward the future act is present.

In the hundred pages of Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and *Candida,* one hundred and thirty-one *shall-will* futures are to be found—approximately one and one-third to the page; none appears in the stage directions, essays embedded into the dramas, which fill twenty-five pages, or a quarter of the whole text. A. C. Benson's essays in *From a College Window*[1] show only eighty-five *shall-will* futures in three hundred and sixty-five pages—approximately one in every four and one-third pages; and of these, forty (almost a half) are crowded into seven pages where the graceful author is carried along by his liking for parallelism. His brother's novel, *The Challoners,* gives up about three hundred and twenty-five *shall-will* futures, of which the majority are to be found in the quoted conversation, though the proportion of such writing to the narrative text is only about two to three.

If this sort of distribution is what is meant by the designation of the *going-to* future as a colloquial form,[2] perhaps the characterization may stand. No example of this future appears in the formal essays of Stopford Brooke put together in *Four Victorian Poets,* for instance, and it is absent from the whole body of Milton's poetry. But no class dialect distinction appears in the use or non-use of the *going-to* future. It is freely used by all classes, by the selective group and by the most illiterate.

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[1] Two *going-to* futures appear.

[2] See p. 399 below. The *New English Dictionary* defines "colloquial": "not used in formal or elevated language."

The *going-to* future is not a construction of the language of poetry. Shelley did not use it. Alfred Noyes' *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern* runs a hundred and sixty-seven pages without it.[1] E. A. Robinson's *Merlin* (largely an *I*-poem) avoids it. Its absence from poetry is not, however, to be accounted for by the preference of poetry for the elevated style. If this were true, we should rightly expect that the construction would not be barred from the verse of Rudyard Kipling or John Masefield. As a matter of fact, it is found but once in Kipling's *Collected Verse;*[2] one example occurs in Masefield's *The Widow in the Bye Street,*[3] and one in his *Reynard the Fox.*[4] The *Spoon River Anthology* furnishes but a single use.[5] It is not Whitmanesque. Even the rough verse of Robert W. Service employs it sparingly.[6] Absence of the construction from English poetry, colloquial as well as elevated, is due to the weak stress value of the combination.

Since speech records of past ages were not made, it is not possible to determine whether use of the *going-to* future is more widespread now than ever before; but it is undoubtedly more frequently met in printed language than it has ever been. This may be due to the more nearly personal style of much modern writing and the wide use of quoted conversation in the modern novel. Yet it occurs fairly frequently in nineteenth-century writing. Nine examples appear in Robertson's *Caste;* ten in Kingsley's *Water Babies;* two in Bulwer-Lytton's *Lady of Lyons;* fourteen in *Middlemarch;* thirty-five examples have been gathered from *Barry Lyndon*, *Old Curiosity Shop*, and *The Leavenworth Case;* ten from *Wuthering Heights*, and five from *Pride and Prejudice.*[7] Table I presents the relative frequency of the occurrence of the *going-to* future and the other forms of the English future in *Middlemarch*, *Pendennis*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Wuthering Heights*, *Barry Lyndon*, and *Old Curiosity Shop:*

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[1] Other than for a single example in *The Bandit's Death*, Tennyson's use of the *going-to* future is restricted to a case in each of two dialect poems, *To-Morrow* (l. 17) and *The First Quarrel* (l. 80). It is not easy to determine whether Tennyson felt the form to be nonstandard or was less careful of his meter in this sort of poem. Noyes succumbs in "Peace in a Palace" (*The New Morning*, p. 54).

[2] P. 187, "An Imperial Rescript." [3] P. 184. [4] P. 101. [5] P. 99.

[6] Four examples in *The Rhymes of a Red Cross Man.*

[7] In Carlyle's *Life of John Sterling* (268 pages) appear only two examples of the *going-to* future, both of which occur in excerpts from Sterling and both of which express first-person intent.

Though not so frequently recorded as in nineteenth-century writing, the *going-to* future is given a fairly generous representation in eighteenth-century literature. It is recorded five times in *The School for Scandal;*[1] twice in *The Rivals;* seven times in *The Good-Natured Man;* twice in *She Stoops to Conquer;*[2] once in Foote's *Mirror.* *Jonathan Wild* furnishes but a single instance. Something like the modern proportion of use appears in Cibber's *The Refusal* (fifteen examples); three appear in his *The Careless Hubsand.*[3] *The Recruiting Officer* and *The Beaux Stratagem* give up one example each. *Captain Singleton* shows seven certain and one ambiguous example in two hundred and seventy-five pages of narrative largely in the past tense, with little quoted conversation throughout.[4]

TABLE I

Text	Shall-Will	Am-to	About-to	Pres.	Going-to
*Middlemarch**	85	3	0	0	14
*Pendennis**	50	3	3	0	11
*Barry Lyndon**	110	15	2	3	3
*Old Curiosity Shop**	120	2	0	0	5
*Pride and Prejudice**	139	13	0	0	5
*Wuthering Heights**	190	5	0	0	10
Totals	694	41	5	3	48

* The first hundred pages.

That the construction has been growing in use in the written language is indicated by the decreasing number of examples to be found in seventeenth-century writing. Two clear and unambiguous examples appear in the four plays of Wycherley in the Mermaid edition of his comedies; two in four hundred and twenty-five pages of Volume I of Pepys' *Diary* (Bohn edition).[5] From the printed writing of the first half of the century, we have found only a short list of examples. The construction does not appear in Volume I (Temple edition) of Howell's *Familiar Letters;*[6] in a long stretch of

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[1] Resolving the ambiguous cases in favor of auxiliary use.

[2] In one hundred and fifty pages of *The Bee* only one example appears, against the nine in one hundred and forty-three pages of Goldsmith's two comedies.

Johnson's Dictionary defines "going-to," "about to," and quotes from Locke.

[3] No example is to be found in three hundred and twenty-five consecutive pages of *The Spectator* (papers 1–61).

[4] The relative frequency of the *going-to* future and the other forms of the English future in *The Castle of Otranto* is as follows: Shall-will, 196 (an unusually large number of futures in 97 pages); Am-to, 6; About-to, 2; Present, 0; Going-to, 8.

[5] A similar book of the present time would show at least a score of examples.

[6] Two instances of the use of *going-to* in the literal sense of motion are to be found.

Deloney's *Works*[1] it was not met. The well-known dramas of the period furnish but few instances: one possible example in Peele's *Old Wives Tale* (p. 448, 2); *Measure for Measure*, III, i, 94; *Taming of the Shrew*, I, ii, 165; *Merchant of Venice*, II, i, 24.[2] No example occurs in Volume II of Manly's *Pre-Shakesperean Drama;* none in Volume I of the Mermaid edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays. The practical absence of the *going-to* future from this body of writing is, of course, no certain proof that the construction was not in popular use at this time; but it does go further than suggesting that it had not the frequency of today's usage. *Going-to* plus a verb of motion, however, was at least well established in the seventeenth century.

Åkerlund[3] is of the opinion that the construction "originated in Early Modern English; . . . . the first examples found are in Greene[4] and Shakespeare." The earliest example of the use in English writing quoted by the *New English Dictionary* is from the *Monk of Evesham* (*circa* 1470).[5] From this date to the time of Greene we have found no examples, but the search has not been quite thorough. No case appears in Caxton's Prefaces, and none in Pollard's *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse.* Gosson's *School of Abuse* does not use the *going-to* future. For the most convenient use of the *going-to* future in present-day English, its strong intention or promise signification,[6] Caxton employed *purpose*, and Elizabethan writers commonly used *mean* and *mind.*[7]

[1] Edited by Mann, Oxford Press, 1912. Many futures appear.

[2] Ambiguous or in the literal sense of motion are *Richard III*, I, iii, 341, and *Merry Wives*, IV, iii, 3; while in *Lear*, IV, ii, 71, actual motion is intended.

[3] *The History of the Definite Tenses in English*, pp. 67 and 99.

[4] He cites Greene's *Looking Glass*, p. 140, 2 (but an ambiguous case), and the examples quoted above from Shakespeare.

[5] Arber edition, p. 43. Oliphant, *The New English*, p. 322, says of this example: "A new phrase for the future . . . . this reminds us of the Old English hē gǣþ rīdan."

NED gives an unrepresentative series of quotations for the construction.

[6] See p. 400 below.

[7] "I purpose to write those same sayings: "but I purpose to make thee. . . . ."

For examples of *mean*, see Manly, *op. cit.*, pp. 166, 94; 178, 417; 196, 870; 198, 427; 206, 1,130; 208, 1,185; 219, 65; 218, 27. For examples of *mind*, see *ibid.*, pp. 53, 49; 150, 194; 202, 1,019; 474, 72; 478, 1.

Einenkel's consideration of *go* as an auxiliary in Chaucer (*Streifzüge durch die M.E. Syntax*, pp. 238–39) throws no light on the early use of *going-to* as a future.

II. MEANING

Definition of the particular meaning expressed by the *going-to* future has heretofore been vague, and if not incorrect, surely incomplete. The particularization of the future idea usually assigned to the periphrasis is that of the immediate future, equivalent to the Latin periphrastic future (*amaturus sum*). Thus Sweet[1] defines its function: "In English we have an immediate future formed with the definite tenses of *go* and the supine, as in *I am afraid it is going to rain*— . . . . 'it is about to rain,' '. . . . it is on the point of raining,' compared with *I am afraid it will rain tomorrow*." Poutsma[2] says: "A further sense development of *to be going* is that of representing the action or state expressed by the following infinitive clause as immediately impending." The *New English Dictionary* defines this sense of *go*[3] as follows: "On the way to, preparing, or tending to, now used as a mere colloquial synonym of *about to*, in the auxiliaries of idiomatic compound tenses expressing immediate or near futurity." Onions,[4] too, assigns synonymity to *going-to* and *about-to:* "Two future equivalents are in common use, viz., 'to be about to,' 'to be going to'; they are of almost identical meaning ('to be on the point of'), the chief distinction being that the former is literary and the latter colloquial. They may be called 'Immediate Futures.'"[5] Limitation of future action to the immediate or very near future is indeed a function of the *going-to* future; but in actual usage it is comparatively rare that *going-to* and *about-to* are "almost identical in meaning" or interchangeable. *About-to* has a fixed meaning (colorless incipient action), while *going-to* is used most frequently with other shades of future signification. By far the most common use of the *going-to* future is its employment as an auxiliary of intention. The distribution of meaning in the following figures represents fairly, we believe, the average present-day relation of immediate futures to other uses of the construction. In Clyde Fitch's *The Climbers*, thirty-three *going-to* futures appear; of these, only three can by the largest generosity of interpretation of doubtful cases in their favor be counted as immediate futures.[1] Of the forty-eight examples of the construction in Leonard Merrick's *The Actor Manager,* seven only with the same liberality of interpretation may be regarded as immediate futures.[1] Furthermore, *about-to* is, in both literary and colloquial usage, much less frequently employed than *going-to.*

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[1] *New English Grammar*, sec. 2255.

[2] *A Grammar of Late Modern English*, Part I, p. 553.

[3] "Go," 47*b*. What is the implication of "now"?

[4] *An Advanced English Syntax*, sec. 131*b*.

[5] As to this distinction, see p. 395 above.

As an immediate future, *going-to* is used more frequently as the future of time passed[2] than as the future from the point of view of the present. Here it usually marks an interrupted intent or determination, and frequently appears in dependent clauses; as, "He seemed as if he were going to say something to Mrs. Pendennis, but he bethought him."[3]

Other particularizations of *going-to*'s tense function have been partly defined. Sweet adds to his immediate future definition this statement: "This form is perhaps sometimes used—like the definite future—to avoid the special associations of *will* and *shall.* It is sometimes used not to disguise, but merely to soften down the idea of will or compulsion."[4] Poutsma[5] recognizes the use of *going-to* in expressing an intention or plan of future action. Blount and Northrup[6] give as their first definition of *going-to* plus infinitive, which they call a "future phrase," "the intention of the speaker." Onions[7] adds to his first definition of meaning the following: *going-to* "often conveys the idea of there being something proposed or in prospect, as in 'They are going to make all sorts of new rules in Parliament.'"

All of these statements are more than cautious. They fail to take into account the dominant use of *going-to* in expressing the speaker's intent, plan, resolution, or determination in regard to the action or state expressed by the following infinitive. In this sense of expressing an intent on the part of the speaker toward a future act or state, *going-to* represents (1) a general plan or intention: as, "Indeed many essays and books are nothing but explanations of the way in which a writer *is going to use* a word;[1] (2) a strong determination; as, "He said to himself: . . . . *I'm going to be* an architect. *I'm not going to be* any blooming printer. . . . . If I say flatly that *I wont* be a printer . . . . he's done."[2] In the second of these degrees of intention, the earnest purpose is frequently represented as being sufficiently intense as to carry out a desire to act despite all opposition to its accomplishment; as, "We are going to win, despite the President of the United States and a United States Senator."[3] To this aspect of *going-to*'s meaning is related the sense of inevitableness or destiny that is sometimes expressed by the construction; as, "A benediction on some crib that was going to be broken into that evening";[4] "And I am going to fail again as I have failed before."[5] Associated with the idea of inevitableness or with the idea of immediacy in *going-to* is the sense of dread of an impending act or condition or of fear of its probability. These sentences represent this use: "She, then, was chosen to preside over this entertainment of Mrs. Peter's; she was perhaps going to displace my dear Miss Matty in his heart and make her life lonely once more!"[6] "The head of the Pendennises going to marry an actress ten years his senior—the headstrong boy about to plunge into matrimony!"[7]

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[1] *About-to* is found once.

[2] In *Cranford,* for instance, seven to one.

In this use it is frequently accompanied by the adverb "just"; as in the first sentence of the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table:* "I was just going to say when I was interrupted."

[3] *Pendennis,* p. 122.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *An English Grammar,* p. 131. The construction is referred to as colloquial.

[7] *Op. cit.,* sec. 131. Onions again calls the construction colloquial.

Upon infrequent occasion *going-to* is used as a pure future tense; as, "I don't know what I am going to do, and I don't care";[8] but the auxiliary is almost always colored by a modal sense which reveals the attitude of a person toward some future act or state. Table

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[1] Brewster, *English Composition and Style*, p. 191.

[2] Bennett, *Clayhanger*, p. 156. The synonymity of *not going-to* and *wont* is obvious.

[3] Associated Press dispatch, July 20, 1920.

[4] G. Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man*, p. 37.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Difficult of analysis is this sentence from *Castle Rackrent:* "'And how much am I going to sell,' says he, just reading on to himself." The sentence is uttered by the bankrupt Lord Condy to the legal agent, Jason Quick, at whose utter mercy the speaker is. Is the meaning that of compulsion or destiny, similar to the sense of Old English *sculan*? Surely no meaning of intent or immediacy is present.

[6] *Cranford*, p. 196.

[7] *Pendennis*, p. 5. See also *The Leavenworth Case*, p. 177, and *Middlemarch*, p. 44.

[8] Cannan, *Young Earnest*, p. 152.

II indicates the relative frequency of the different shades of future meaning expressed by *going-to* in *Barry Lyndon, Old Curiosity Shop,* and *The Leavenworth Case:*

TABLE II

Text	General Intention	Earnest Purpose	Certainty of Future	Immediacy	Colorless Future
Barry Lyndon.......	3	0	5	2*	0
Old Curiosity Shop...	20	3	0	6	0
Leavenworth Case....	11	3	3	1	0
Totals.........	34	6	8	9	0

* Both past futures.

III. ORIGIN

The track of the development of the *going-to* auxiliary seems easy to follow. It is reasonable to assume that it grew from the use of the progressive forms of *go* with the actual meaning of motion plus an infinitive of purpose or determination. The idea of actual motion to carry out the purpose weakened, and the combination came more and more to express merely purpose, intent, or determination. From a notional word, *go* falls into the state of an "empty" word.

At the same time, indeed, the earlier actual motion meaning continues, though in the spoken language usually as a different phonetic group from that of the auxiliary combination and frequently with an adverbial modifier between the verb and the infinitive.[1] In careless speech, the phonetic combination is *gonə* (or *gonna* as it is printed in the traditional novel system of dialect spelling). As an auxiliary, *going-to* is always followed immediately by the infinitive.

The assumption that the logical order of development is in this case also the historical order is supported by the circumstance that the construction was used to express actual motion in the sixteenth century and earlier, when the future intent notion was not common, as far as we may judge by its absence from the written record and by the general use of other means to express the intent idea.

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[1] Examples of an adverbial modifier between the verb of motion and the purpose infinitive: "I am going to F . . . . to marry Mr. Clavering.": "But I am going away to-night to bring them back" (*The Leavenworth Case*, p. 313); "I am going upstairs to take the work to Miss Morgan"; "You know he is going away for a day or two to see his sister" (*Middlemarch*, pp. 37 and 408).

The strength of purpose of the speaker expressed in the *going-to* combination led to a feeling of certainty of statement concerning his future action and colored the phrase with a strong certainty of immediacy. The determination sense preceded the immediacy meaning.

Among the causes which influenced the growth of the *going-to* determination future stands prominently the easy device it furnished for distinguishing between the simple future and the modal future to a great mass of the English-speaking world which has refused to adopt the formal language's device of employing "I will" for the modal future and "I shall" for the colorless future. In the common language of America today "I will" and "I'll" are the pure future forms and "I'm going-to," the modal form.

Other uses of *go* in which the idea of motion has completely faded are common. It is used in the sense "continue"; as, "Don't you go talking to Mr. Hardy in the way you do, Marcella";[1] it has a purely copulative force in "go blind," "go crazy," and the like; it sometimes has merely an intensive function; as, "He wishes to go get killed."[2] *Go and x* is frequently merely an emphatic future; as, "I'll go and see if I can find a horse to hold."[3]

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[1] *Marcella*, I, 37; quoted by Poutsma.

[2] Notice the vulgar "He's done gone and done it" and the less but nevertheless vulgar "He went and did it," both of which are merely devices for an emphatic past tense.

In "She had gone singing through the dim rooms" (*Old Curiosity Shop*, p. 67), we feel that we have a variant pluperfect of *sing*. The use of *gone* turns the usual pluperfect (*had sung*) into a progressive or iterative perfect; it changes the *actionsart* from perfective to imperfective. The idea of motion has largely faded.

[3] *Old Curiosity Shop*, p. 104.

SIGN-WORDS AND PRO-WORDS IN MODERN ENGLISH

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SIGN-WORDS

Because of the loss of inflections, modern languages are forced to rely much upon a fixed word order to assist the hearer in apprehending the meaning of the sentence. Modern English employs another expedient to an extent that few realize. A certain word or phrase comes to be used as a mere *sign* that a particular construction is to follow. This sign-word may furnish no actual constructive element to the sentence; its whole function may be to give warning that a certain construction is about to be employed. In some cases this introducing word, this sign-word, may be omitted without altering the meaning of the sentence as a whole. However, the hearer or reader understands the plan of the sentence more readily, is better prepared for what is coming, if this indicating sign, this forerunner, is present.

The first example that comes to mind is the use of *to* as the sign of the infinitive. Though this word has prepositional value in such expressions as "I went *to* see him," "water that is good *to* drink," in many cases it is a mere sign of the infinitive, and is so named; as in the sentence: "*To* err is human, *to* forgive, divine."

Let us now look at other sign-words, the real nature of which has not received distinct recognition.

1. *That* as a sign of a noun clause.—The word *that*, in this usage, was once felt as a demonstrative pronoun. In the sentence: "He says *that* he will come," an older conception looked upon *that* as a demonstrative, and the clause *he will come* was in apposition with *that* and explained it. When numberless sentences came to be made on this pattern, the *that* naturally weakened to a mere introducing word, a *sign* of a following noun clause. We often call this word a

conjunction, but it may stand at the beginning of the sentence; then it does not *connect,* but *introduces,* as in:

> *That* you have wronged me doth appear in this.

The late Professor Stephen H. Carpenter, of the University of Wisconsin, comments thus on this idiom:

> Some grammarians call *that,* when so used, the "sentence article" which is perhaps its best and most expressive designation.[1]

This is in some ways an admirable suggestion, but it is better not to use the word sentence so loosely. It is desirable always to mean by the word sentence, a sentence as printed. But it is an admirable designation for the use of *that* indicated above to call it a *clause-article.* Just as the ordinary definite article precedes an ordinary noun, so the clause-article precedes a noun clause. The word *that,* when used in this way, is simply a sign, an indication, a forerunner of a following noun clause.

2. *As* as a sign of apposition.—*As* is a conjunction that is commonly used in comparisons. Constructions employing this word are often much abbreviated in order to avoid unnecessary repetitions. One use of *as* that has grown out of such abbreviated expressions is that it is often what Professor Whitney calls "a kind of appositive connective."[2]

> Grant, *as* commander-in-chief, was very successful.
> *As* an orator, Jones was very effective.

In such sentences as the above, *as* may be termed a *sign of apposition,* a *sign-word* introducing an appositive. The meaning of the first sentence would not be very different if we were to say: "Grant, the commander-in-chief, was very successful.'

In a grammar class some bright pupil may insist that he feels *as* in these specimen sentences to be equivalent to the phrasal preposition *in the capacity of,* and may therefore wish to call the word a preposition. This interpretation can hardly be called wrong, although the *New International Dictionary* does not term *as* a preposition in any circumstances.

However, I prefer to call *as* in these sentences "a kind of appositive connective," or sign of apposition, a sign-word.

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[1] *English of the XIVth Century,* 1873, p. 98.

[2] *Essentials of English Grammar,* 1900, p. 242.

When this *as* introduces an appositive to a direct object, it can often be omitted; e.g.:

He would sooner die than acknowledge her [as] his wife [*Silas Marner*, chap. xii].

The world counted her [as] a heretic.[1]

3. *For* as a sign of a following infinitive and its subject.—In this sentence:

a) "To spend too much is easy for a man," we accept *for* as a preposition. We feel free to transpose this into the form:

b) "It is easy for a man to spend too much." I question whether we feel the *for* in *b* as a preposition. Anyway we feel free to employ another word order and say:

c) "*For* a man to spend too much is easy." We make sentences freely on this last pattern; e.g.:

For you to do this is wrong.

For one to be angry with him is impossible.

What shall we call the initial *for* in instances of this type? It is possible to say of the sentence, "*For* a man to spend too much is easy," that *for* is a preposition, taking as its object the infinitive and subject *a man to spend too much*, and that this entire prepositional phrase is the subject of *is easy*. But I am sure that we do not feel the sentence in this way. The logic of the sentence is *A man to spend too much* (=That a man should spend too much) *is easy*. However, we never express the thought in this way. The *for* is regularly prefixed to a sentence of this type, but it is only a forerunner, an indicator, a sign of the coming construction.

To my feeling *for* in sentences made on this pattern is really a *sign-word* and nothing else, not affecting the coming construction in any way, but preparing our minds for it.

Professor Jespersen cites the following sentence from Thackeray: "What I like best is *for* a nobleman to marry a miller's daughter. And what I like next best is *for* a poor fellow to run away with a rich girl."[2] In this sentence *for* has only sign value. It introduces the infinitive phrase in each case.[3]

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[1] Cited by Poutsma, *A Grammar of Late Modern English*, I (1904), 231.

[2] *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, 1905, p. 209.

[3] See Zeitlin, *The Accusative with Infinitive*, etc. (Columbia diss.), 1908, pp. 137–41.

Sentences of the following type are in colloquial use: "I should like [*for*] you to do this."

4. *Both . . . . and,* etc.—What are called *correlative conjunctions* may often be said with fairness to be a *sign-word* followed by a conjunction; such as:

both . . . . and
at once . . . . and
either . . . . or
neither . . . . nor
not only . . . . but also

Compare these two sentences:

Bring John and James.
Bring *both* John and James.

The difference between these sentences is simply that the second form has the sign-word *both,* telling us in advance that two objects are concerned and only two. This *both* was once a pronoun; now it is merely a sign-word.

Tell John or James this story.
Tell *either* John or James this story.

Here again, the second sentence has a sign-word *either,* telling us in advance that an alternative is to be offered between at least two different persons or things.

The combination *neither . . . . nor* differs from the other pairs noted in the fact that the sign-word *neither* cannot be omitted in present-day usage.

The usual name given by grammarians to the words listed above is well explained by Buehler: "Conjunctions are sometimes used in pairs, the first of the pair indicating that something will presently be added. . . . . Conjunctions used in pairs are called *Correlative Conjunctions.*"[1] This is the usual nomenclature, but it is hardly more than a jumble of words. The sentence, "I saw John and James," has all the conjunctional value expressed in the form, "I saw both John and James." The only value of *both* is to serve as a sign-word to indicate that two objects will presently be named.

Tell John and also James.
Tell *not only* John but also James.

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[1] *A Modern English Grammar* (revised, 1914), p. 344.

These two sentences have much the same meaning, but in the second form the sign-phrase *not only* prepares our minds for this emphatic form of speech.

5. *What . . . . what.*—In the sentence given by Onions, "*What* with work, and *what* with worry, he had grown as thin as a lath,"[1] it is clear that the sentence would have about the same meaning if the words *what . . . . what* were omitted. This *what* is the neuter of the old indefinite pronoun *who, what* (=*someone, somewhat*). The original force of the sentence was "*Somewhat* with work, and *somewhat* with worry, he had grown as thin as a lath."

If the *what . . . . what* be omitted from the foregoing sentence, there is nothing to inform the listener that a suspensive construction of this kind is coming. These words contribute nothing to the meaning of the sentence. They are only sign-words, signposts, indicating to the hearer or reader that such a suspended construction is about to appear. Sometimes, when the sentence is long, and especially if it is somewhat involved, it is distinctly helpful to have the structure indicated in advance in this way. For example:

> *What* with its smoky atmosphere, which covers everything with soot, *what* with its dirty and ill-paved streets, the city of X certainly calls for improvement.

6. *It* as a sign of inversion.—The word *it* is often used as the apparent subject of a verb instead of some word or phrase or clause which is the real subject, and which is then put after the verb. This *it* is called the grammatical subject, or the sham subject, in distinction from the logical subject, or the real subject. Examples are:

> *It* is Monday.
> *It* is a pleasure to travel.
> *It* is doubtful whether he will come.
> *It* seems a long time since he was here.

This *it* contributes nothing to the meaning of the sentence. It is simply a sign of the coming inversion of subject and verb that follows immediately. It prepares the listener for the coming construction, for the inversion, but has no other force.

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[1] *An Advanced English Syntax* (3d ed., 1911), p. 150. Cf. Poutsma, *op. cit.*, pp. 381 f.

It is noticeable that, in an English sentence, the following verb always agrees with the sham subject, regardless of the nature of the logical subject. English and German differ here.

It *is* three days since I was here.
Es *sind* drei Tage seitdem ich hier bin.

7. *There* as a sign of inversion.—Says Whitney: "The adverb *there* is very peculiarly used, as if a kind of indefinite grammatical subject of a verb, especially the verb *be*."[1]

Practically this weakened *there* has no value except as a sign to indicate in advance the inversion of verb and subject that follows. The word conveys no other meaning.

There is no money here.
There came a voice from heaven.

An adverbial phrase or clause may precede this *there*, as in:

In the afternoon *there* occurred an incident [*John Halifax*, chap. xv].[2]

Because this *there* is felt to have a force like that of the *it* explained in the last section, and because the *r* in the word is often pronounced imperfectly or not at all, ignorant people often misunderstand this word as the pronoun *they*; e.g.:

They must of been excitement then.

8. *It* as an anticipatory object of a verb.—A transitive verb is sometimes immediately followed by the word *it* as a sort of sham object, anticipating the object proper. This is especially common when the real object is a clause or elaborate phrase which does not come immediately after the verb. This *it*, then, is simply the sign, the warning, of a long phrasal or clausal object that is to come a little later. It is often optional whether or not this *it* shall be employed.

He gave *it* as his opinion that the boy was labouring under a severe concussion of the brain [*Martin Chuzzlewit*, chap. xlii].
He made *it* clear that the plan was impossible.

This anticipatory *it* also occurs between the verb *to hear* and the past participle *said*, or one of similar meaning. The following sentence is the only one that I shall cite under this general head in which the word in question could not well be omitted:

We often *hear it said* that the world is constantly becoming more enlightened.

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[1] *Essentials*, p. 141.

[2] Poutsma, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

In the four following sentences, compare the first sentence with the second, and the third with the fourth:

They *take upon them* to decide for the whole town.

Mr. Tapley *took it upon him* to issue divers general orders to the waiters [*Martin Chuzzlewit*, chap. liii].

They had *thought proper* to fall ill [*Pendennis*, chap. xxxiv].

Mrs. Bardell *felt it proper* to be agitated [*Pickwick Papers*, chap. xxvi].[1]

9. *It* as an anticipatory object of a verb+adverb.—Sometimes it requires a verb and an adverb, taken together, to express the complete verbal idea of which *it* is the anticipatory object. Some may be inclined to call this adverb a preposition, but it will be found to complete the meaning of the verb. The *it* is only a sign-word, announcing the coming clause. The following noun clause is the real object of the verbal conception expressed by the verb+adverb.

You may depend on *it* that he will never be employed by us again.

Miss Carlyle got into a discussion with the gardener, she insisting upon having certain work done in a certain way, he standing to *it* that Mr. Carlyle had ordered it done in another [*East Lynne*].[2]

10. *A preposition+it* announcing an object clause.—The type of sentence now to be given closely resembles the preceding examples, but in the following cases the *preposition+it* can be omitted without affecting the meaning of the sentence concerned. This shows that this combination of words is a pure sign-phrase, having sign value and nothing else. The phrase simply announces the coming of a logical object clause. The fact that the *preposition+it* could be omitted from each sentence cited below is indicated by the use of brackets.

When you are an earl, see [*to it*] that you are a better one than I have been.

I'll answer [*for it*], you'll see your nephew in all his glory [*School for Scandal*, III, i].

Will Stutely insisted [*upon it*] that he must be rechristened.[3]

There are undoubtedly other examples in English of what may fairly be called sign-words. But the foregoing cases will serve to illustrate the topic.

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[1] All the illustrative sentences are from Poutsma, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–53.

[2] This sentence from Poutsma, *ibid.*, p. 179.

[3] All the sentences are from Poutsma, *ibid.*, pp. 179 f.

PRO-WORDS

A pronoun is a kind of substitute for a noun. It saves us from the necessity of repeating a noun over and over. A small and simple pronoun enables one to avoid the unpleasant repetition of a cumbrous name, such as Washington, or a polysyllabic common noun, such as physician, apothecary, etc.

The indefinite pronoun *one*, which Professor Jespersen calls a "prop-word," is very much used to escape from the necessity of repeating a noun offensively. Unlike a personal pronoun, this prop-word *one* can take a prefixed adjective, just like the noun which it replaces. This makes it a prop-word as well as a pro-noun. Jespersen cites these examples:

This umbrella, said Mr. L., producing a *fat green cotton one.* [Dickens].

. . . . most of the mountain flowers being lovelier than the *lowland ones.* [Ruskin].[1]

In English we frequently use words whose only value is that they enable us to avoid the unpleasant repeating of some word or group of words that has already been expressed. Pronouns are only one class of these verbal substitutes. Let us call all such words *pro-words.*

It was common in Elizabethan English to employ the word *that* simply to continue the force of a previous conjunction, and I am sure that this usage is not entirely absent from modern English. Do any of the following examples seem entirely strange to our present language sense?

When he had carried Rome and *that* we look'd
For no less spoil than glory, ... [*Coriolanus*, V, vi, 43–44].

Since you to non-regardance cast my faith,
And *that* I partly know the instrument . . . .
[*Twelfth Night*, V, i, 124–25].

You see, Sir, ... that, *though* I do most heartily wish that France may be animated by a spirit of rational liberty, and *that* [=*though*] I think you bound, in all honest policy, to provide a permanent body, etc. [Burke, *Reflexions*, 2d paragraph].[2]

When *that* is employed in the manner just indicated it may fairly be called a *pro-conjunction.*

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[1] *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, 1905, p. 208.

[2] Cited by Kellner, *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*, 1892, p. 281.

In the sentence, "He writes better than I *do*," the use of *do* is optional. If employed, it is a sort of *pro-verb*, standing for *write*.

A word used to save the repeating of an adjective may be called a *pro-adjective*. *So* often has this force, and *that* has it occasionally; e.g.:

He is already exhausted, or soon will be *so*.
We shall be infinitely rich, and *that* without labour in getting [Donne].

$$\text{“He wished me to}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{call on him}\\ \text{buy him a dollar's worth of postage stamps}\end{array}\right\}\text{,}$$

$$\text{and I told him that I would}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{do it.”}\\ \text{do so.”}\end{array}\right\}=\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{call on him.}\\ \text{buy him a dollar's worth of}\\ \quad\text{postage stamps.}\end{array}\right.$$

Here *do it* or *do so* are *pro-words*. *Do* saves repeating the verb (*buy*, *call*), and *it* or *so* saves repeating all that follows the verb. *Do* is a *pro-verb*, *it* or *so* is a *pro-phrase*. We might call *do it* or *do so* somewhat loosely a *pro-predicate*. Of course the entire predicate is *would do it* or *would do so*.

Naturally *it* can refer to a phrase or clause that is used as a noun. In such a case *it* is a *pro-phrase* or a *pro-clause;* e.g.:

To cross the ocean was once a mighty undertaking; now *it* is a mere pleasure trip.

I heard *that he was coming*, but I didn't believe *it*.

Jespersen says: "In modern colloquial English, instead of repeating an infinitive, you may content yourself with using *to* as a substitute for it. . . . . How is this *to* to be classified? I should like to call it a new sort of pronoun; it replaces the infinitive very much in the same way as 'it' does a substantive."[1] The sentences which he cites are of two types, *a* and *b:*

a) Now you won't overreach me; you want *to* but you won't [*Martin Chuzzlewit*, p. 217].

b) You had given up water-colour; and she told me to implore you not *to* [*Robert Elsmere*, I, 25].

This *to* may be called a *pro-infinitive;* it avoids the necessity of repeating both an infinitive and all the words that follow it in the same phrase. Eugen Borst discussed this usage fifteen years ago in an article entitled, "Pro-Infinitive."[2] He thinks that this usage developed in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[1] *Progress in Language*, 1894, p. 47.

[2] *Englische Studien*, XXXIX (1908), 413–18.

The form *a* might be accepted as proper, or at least allowable, and form *b* be looked upon as objectionable. *b* violates the rule of the English grammarian, Moon, concerning ellipsis. He insists that a word cannot be understood unless it has already been expressed in the same form that is to be understood.[1] It is usually desirable to observe this rule. Whitney considers this usage only colloquial at best. He recognizes only form *a*.[2]

In the sentence, "I thought that he could be trusted, but I think *so* [= that he can be trusted] no longer," *so* is a *pro-clause.*

"Are you going to the city this afternoon?" "Yes." *Yes* is here a *pro-sentence.* It stands for the complete thought, "I am going to the city this afternoon." *Yes* and *no* are not really "parts of speech," since each represents an entire sentence, is a sentence word. They have sometimes been put in a class by themselves and called "responsives." They resemble certain interjections in that they represent whole sentences. It is to be presumed that all languages have words of this type.

Probably other good examples of English pro-words could be cited, but the cases given will serve to indicate the nature and value of this feature of our language.

CONCLUSION

By means of the devices that have here been touched upon, greater clarity is given to the sentence and greater economy of expression.

The English tongue gave up its former abundance of inflections. How is it to indicate to a hearer or reader those grammatical relations which once found expression largely through inflectional endings? One method is by a word order that in its main features may be called fixed. But it is hard for a speaker or writer to signal to his hearers or readers by means of word order alone full information concerning the structure of each sentence as it progresses. Sign-words, some of which we have noted above, help to indicate promptly and unambiguously the meaning and structure of the sentence concerned.

English is an economical language. Professor Jespersen has estimated that the Gospel of Matthew contains about 29,000 syllables in the Authorized Version, as against about 39,000 in the original Greek.[1] It may seem at first thought that the sign-words do not contribute to this economy. However, a one-syllable sign-word or a brief sign-phrase may help the hearer greatly in apprehending early and easily the exact force of a sentence that is being uttered. This aids the speaker also, since his one desire is to be understood. Sign-words, though they may be called "empty words," perform very economically an important service.

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[1] Cited in Storm, *Englische Philologie*, II (1896), 736.

[2] *Essentials*, p. 242.

The great economy of pro-words needs no emphasizing.

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[1] *Progress in Language*, p. 120, n.

ASPECTS OF LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

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Linguistic science has concerned itself almost entirely with the analysis of documents, grammars, and dictionaries, and with the inferences to be drawn from the compilation of information from these sources. Except for the collection of facts about dialects and phonetics, little effort has been made to exploit systematically the linguistic content and habits of living individuals, from whom much valuable information can be secured—information which will throw light on many puzzling situations and phenomena in the past.

A few of the possibilities of such a search have been recently opened up to me by my attempts to answer some questions that have occurred to me while investigating the linguistic consciousness of college students. I realize that I have scarcely scratched the surface of this field, and that I cannot present any final results, but I should like to make some suggestions in the hope that other linguistic students will turn their attention to these questions, and will not only make similar studies but will propose questions that have not occurred to me, and will see further implications that I have not seen.

THE INDIVIDUAL

The importance of the individual as a factor in language and in linguistic development has been quite generally recognized. It is easy to find it explicitly affirmed that a language is transmitted only as new individuals imitate the speech of other individuals; that "linguistic change" can occur only as individuals fail to imitate perfectly, or as a number of them deviate in a common direction from other individuals; and that a "language" is only the aggregate of the usages of all the individuals who speak (and write) that language.

Familiar as this conception is, its bearing and significance are often lost sight of. For example, the linguistic contents of very few documents have been carefully analyzed under this conception. Almost no writer on language has succeeded in writing as much as a chapter without temporarily, at some point, forgetting it. Few scholars have been able to think in general terms about language without losing sight of the fundamental fact that at most we are dealing, not with a social or biological or psychological phenomenon, but merely with the aggregate of all the practices of a community consisting of individuals.

DISLOCATIONS

As far as history informs us, even approximate linguistic uniformity has rarely been attained by all the members of a speech group. Linguistic uniformity, in fact, presupposes a small, perfectly homogeneous and perfectly stable group of individuals, self-perpetuating, and each one hearing and talking to every other so often that linguistic uniformity results, and remains constant. Such communities have necessarily been rare, and, if they have ever existed, they have not become culturally potent enough to produce a "language," i.e., a speech in which a highly cultivated literature is produced. The group which speaks (and writes) a "language" is on the contrary always in a state of flux; it is always receiving into membership individuals who speak a different regional or social dialect or patois.

Especially in a period of economic readjustment, e.g., when assimilating a large proportion of *nouveaux riches* (as in fourteenth- or fifteenth-century England), the constituency of the dominant group changes so suddenly and so violently that there exist at the same time two or more norms or standards. One of these is that of the "old-fashioned" individuals; the other is that of the "vulgar" newcomers. If the "vulgar" newcomers are relatively few in number, and if the social and cultural position of the "old-fashioned" group is assured and practically permanent, the newcomers assiduously imitate the usages of the already predominant group until they attain approximate conformity with it. If, on the contrary, the newcomers outnumber the older members, the latter are "swamped," especially if their economic support is weakened or destroyed. Sometimes, as in England in 1660, the older group is totally displaced through a combination of political and economic forces.

COMMUNICATION OR CONTACT

Simply stated, communication or contact results from a situation in which the individual with one set of speech habits becomes aware that the habits of another individual or group of individuals differ from his own. The communication may come through personal contact, or in modern times through reading a manuscript or a newspaper or a pronouncing dictionary. Perhaps the most influential persons are playmates, members of the family, and teachers. Travel, migration, social dislocation, and many other circumstances which cause the individual to come into contact with persons having different speech habits from his own, produce this awareness that his own speech differs from that of some of his associates.

CORRECTNESS

The conviction that there is a correct form of speech is present in the members of primitive as well as of cultivated societies. Such information may come as a shock to those scholars whose attitude is frankly (and humorously) antipuristic. But the general existence of this feeling can be shown. The conviction of correctness is apparently one manifestation of the elemental human theory that there is a correct or right method of doing everything—a theory prevalent in the most primitive social groups. The habit of correcting the wavering or deviating speech of children is not characteristic solely of teachers or of well-educated modern parents. The theory of correctness as evident among cultivated, sophisticated societies is a survival, albeit a very active one. There can be no doubt that linguistic conformity has been enforced on nearly all individuals of the community by all other individuals from the earliest times.

SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

The awareness of difference and the conviction of correctness have produced in large numbers of individuals an intense and active self-consciousness with reference to language and linguistic usage of all sorts—pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and to some extent signification. Many individuals are sensitive to only some kinds of usages, and there are of course degrees of sensitiveness and "deafness." Persons who are keenly aware of differences in pronunciation are sometimes almost deaf to differences in grammar or syntax. I have found some persons who are almost totally deaf to differences in pronunciation.

The conviction of correctness may of course manifest itself in either of two directions: the individual may believe either that his own pronunciation is correct, or that the other person's is correct. The attitude assumed depends partly on the individual's self-assertiveness or its absence, partly on his belief that his class or regional group is superior or inferior. But few individuals, or groups of individuals, are so self-confident that they are absolutely impervious to a feeling of inferiority which will produce efforts to imitate some pronunciations differing from their own, heard in the speech of some other class or region.

THE "CASE SYSTEM" OF COLLECTING LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

From early childhood to middle age at least, the individual who becomes aware of differences between his own speech and that of others is under pressure to abandon his own habits and to conform to those of his associates. These changes are very largely deliberate, intentional, and productive of active self-consciousness with reference both to themselves and to usage in general. The pronouncing dictionary and the teacher are not the inventors of this process. They are merely the most active agents as perfected in an organized society.

The extent to which these linguistic changes are constantly occurring in the speech of the individual can be tested quite objectively, though the application of the test and the collection of evidence require tact, patience, and perseverance—partly because most persons shrink from revealing their own linguistic history, and partly because the phenomena in which we are interested have been neglected and disregarded, and have consequently been almost totally forgotten by the person in whose experience they once occurred. No one can sit down deliberately and recall all that has happened to his own linguistic habits. He must on the contrary be constantly on the *qui vive* for words, sounds, and usages which he has changed, and must jot down a note as soon as he thinks of such a usage.

It is hard to get "subjects" to do this. They are not sufficiently interested in what the collector is doing, and do not usually believe that his theories amount to much anyway. Boys and girls of high-school age are especially secretive. College students in linguistic courses are much less so, and are rich mines of information if the collector can gain their confidence and get them to reveal facts freely. Even older persons (from thirty to forty years of age), however, have often had some extremely unpleasant experience with respect to their usage which makes them unwilling to reveal the truth. Few of us can review quite objectively a public criticism by a high-school principal of our youthful pronunciation or grammar. And yet from young childhood to middle age our personal linguistic history is full of such incidents—ridicule by playmates or family, or violent criticism by teachers or employers.

Nevertheless, a record of the whole linguistic history of an individual thirty or forty years of age, as far as he can remember it under prompting and encouragement, is of the utmost value and the keenest interest. A large collection of such records will reveal the operation of influences on "language" as a whole, which will explain many obscure phenomena.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In the ordinary American speech community, there are several thousand words of variant pronunciation—that is, pronounced in one way by some individuals, and in another or others by other individuals. The reasons for the variations are of course diverse. But every individual who mingles constantly with his fellows and who consequently hears a great deal of spoken language, hears every day scores of pronunciations differing from his own. His conscious attention is frequently attracted by these pronunciations. His tendency to act is of course sometimes in the direction of imitation, sometimes in the direction of repulsion. The direction depends on his estimate of the importance of the varying speaker as compared to his own importance.

But few persons are so self-confident that they resist all such suggestions. Playmates, teachers, and parents criticize and ridicule; persons of superior social and educational position have their prestige. The printed page and its spellings exercise constant pressure. The pronouncing dictionary is an absolute authority. The result is often the abandonment of an accustomed pronunciation in favor of a different one. And one effect of this is "linguistic change" of the far more common sort—the kind, in fact, often recorded as change by many of the English orthoepists.

CHANGED PRONUNCIATIONS

Last year, in the course of a few months, Miss Marguerite Brueckner, a graduate student at the University of Iowa, collected by actual observation five hundred words which are or have been variously pronounced by persons living or visiting in Iowa City. With this list as a basis for investigation, she interviewed forty individuals, asking each one how he pronounced certain ones of these words, and *why* he thus pronounced them. She found that each one of these forty individuals could remember having changed his pronunciation of from one to fifty words. Altogether she found two hundred and twenty-six words which from one to forty individuals had changed, and which they could distinctly remember having changed, together with the actual reason for the change. A list of the most frequent influences, in the order of their importance, may be worth giving: a teacher; a friend; a member of the family; the observation that someone else pronounced the word differently; seeing the word in print; looking the word up in the dictionary.

The character of the changes was various, and is illustrated by the following list:

1. 'circle,' [sʌrsəl] to [sʌrkəl]; 'pacific,' [pˈækifik] to [pəsˈifik]; 'pugilist,' [pəgəlist] to [pjūdʒəlist]. These are all instances of early spelling pronunciation, guessed at by childish readers, and changed under the influence of family ridicule.

2. 'burst,' [bəst] to [bʌrst]; 'curse,' [kəs] to [kʌrs]. Childhood "vulgar" pronunciations changed to secure "elegance" and "culture" as urged by grade school teachers.

3. 'soot,' [sət] to [sut]; 'root,' [rut] to [rūt]; 'hoof,' [huf] to [hūf]. Common "vulgar" pronunciations changed under the influence of teachers.

4. 'alternate,' [ɔltərnət] to [æltərnət]. Changed under the influence of a college teacher of speech.

5. 'oblique,' [ōblīk] to [ōblaik]; 'depot,' [dīpō] to [depō]; 'preparatory,' [prəpˈerətɔri] to ['prˈepərətɔri]. Changed in the army.

6. ‘rather,’ [ræđər] to [rađər]; ‘either,’ [īđər] to [aiđər]. Changed by deliberate imitation of an associate regarded as more “educated.”

7. ‘grass,’ [græs] to [gras] and to [grās]; ‘new,’ [nū] to [njū]. Changed by imitation in order to seem more “cultured.”

These changes, made under the influence of the theory or conviction of correctness, occurred at practically every age from five to forty years. The implications are much deeper than appear at the first superficial view, especially if they are supplemented by records of the efforts of children—especially of very young children, from two to five years of age—to imitate more perfectly the pronunciation of playmates, parents, and older brothers and sisters. My own observation of the linguistic progress of a child advancing from the age of three to three and a half years, convinces me that most of his efforts to conform to the speech habits of his associates are deliberate and conscious efforts at first. The motivations come from the ridicule and correction of playmates, from the correction of parents, and from a sense of embarrassment and shame when the child observes that his speech differs from that of others, especially if it sounds like “baby-talk” to his older playmates.

This inclination to change one’s pronunciation because of the example of other individuals is a continuous one, felt and followed from babyhood far into manhood and womanhood.

LAPSES

The slips or lapses in speech which have been collected and examined by linguistic students and psychologists have attracted attention chiefly to the manner in which the lapses occur, and have been valued chiefly as illustrations of the manner in which blendings, mixtures, and analogies have been produced.

There is, however, another phase of lapsing which is of at least as much linguistic importance as the one stated. This is the manner in which the lapsing speaker almost invariably corrects his own lapse without outside suggestion or correction. Here are a few lapses and their correction which I have space for: “I am not sure just what is his addrˈess—ˈaddress.” “That’s the song I’ve been raising the roof rif—the roof with.” “There won’t be any parcel postal service today—parcel post.” “It is pretty hard to predict what a wim—woman [wim—wumən] will do.”

I have observed the immediate correction of such lapses in a child three and a half years old.

It is striking that in most lapses the speaker has heard or felt or both heard and felt that he has said the thing intended wrongly, or even that he has begun to say the thing wrongly; and that he has immediately corrected himself. This inclination to correct one's self is apparently a powerful influence toward conservatism in language.

INHIBITED USAGES

Words against which the individual has a prejudice are to be listed here. It will surprise most persons to find how many of these words there are. The feeling of the individual toward these words, most of which are in themselves quite inoffensive, is very strong. Together with words are to be listed here also a number of "ungrammatical" expressions. The reasons for the prejudices which inhibit the individual from using the words under examination are of diverse sorts, but among them is the assertion by another individual that the words or expressions are "vulgar," or that they are "incorrect," or the association of the use of the word with some person strongly disliked by the individual who suffers from the prejudice. The conviction of correctness plays a large part here. One person informed me that he actually "flinched" when he heard a word or form which he was accustomed to think of as "grossly incorrect."

Some of the words follow:

victuals
ain't
bully
yea
teeny
vamp
guy
mad
gent

pants
it's me
I've gotta
eats
fetch
dirty
glutton
guzzle
boss

grub
lady
spectacles
elegant
dope
poor fish
peeved
he don't
we haven't got any

got
gotten
[naiðer]
catty
gawk
often [ɔftən]

Another class of inhibited words is that consisting of words of whose pronunciation the speaker is not sure. Whenever the speaker finds himself approaching the point in a sentence where he is about to need to use one of these words, he realizes that he is undecided how to pronounce the word, and begins to search frantically for a synonym. Often he will hesitate and stammer, and will finally produce a totally inadequate circumlocution. The important point is that he dodges the word. So far as his own spoken language is concerned, the word is gone out of existence. A few such words are:

fetish
rudiment
rise(*n.*)

There are several forms of verbs which are in the same class. The speaker is not sure which one of two forms is the "correct" preterite or past participle, or gets into a panic because he fears that he will not use the "correct" form. Some of these are:

shine—shone, shined [*pret.*]
show—showed, shown [*p. ptcple.*]
awake—awoke, awaked [*pret.*]
dive—dived, dove [*pret.*]
sneak—sneaked, snook [*pret.*]

Tongue-twisters are also often avoided: statistics, eccentric, auxiliary.

CONCLUSIONS

Some of the implications inherent in the situations to which I have called attention are obvious enough. Awareness of difference and the conviction of correctness in a society with a shifting membership have produced many of the changes in the pronunciation and usage of "standard languages" which linguistic historians have called "regular" or "according to law." A critical and exhaustive study of all available sources of historical information will sometimes reveal conditions in the structure of society which have produced such "changes."

At the same time, the conviction of correctness has usually produced conservatism of the most active and powerful kind. In point of fact, the tendency of children to deviate from the speech of their elders would undoubtedly have produced much more radical progressive changes in speech than it has produced, if it had not been for this practically universal human obsession. The pressure on the individual child in the direction of conformity has in other words made speech almost absolutely stable. It is the stability of speech, rather than its relatively insignificant fluctuations, that is remarkable in the eyes of the linguistic historian who will shift his point of view.

Self-correction of lapses is another powerful agency which operates in maintaining permanence and stability.

Inhibitions and disagreeable associations with words and forms account for the disappearance of many words and forms.

It is a curious fact that the meanings of words have changed further and more rapidly than their forms and pronunciations. Little feeling is evident among individual speakers in favor of the inviolability of signification. New meanings are accepted quickly, and without restriction or hesitation, by most individuals, though here, too, there are influential persons in every community who are active against the tendency of others to use old words in new or different meanings.

In general, I may say that the circumstance which has impressed me most deeply throughout my excursions into these unexplored paths has been not the fact that language has changed, but the fact that it has changed so little and so slowly. The fundamental reason for the relative slowness of change, it appears to me, has been linguistic self-consciousness in the individual speaker.

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